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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CLIX.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—THE THARUS AND BOGSHAS OF UPPER INDIA	1
„ II.—THE GAROS: THEIR CUSTOMS AND MYTHOLOGY ... ..	47
„ III.—THE PANJAB POLICE ... ..	72
„ IV.—THE VILLAGE-WATCH IN BENGAL; OR A CENTURY OF ABORTIVE REFORM ... ..	97
„ V.—POLICE REFORM ... ..	121
„ VI.—THE GALVANIZATION OF INDIA ... ..	129
„ VII.—ENGLISH-WOMEN IN INDIA ... ..	137
„ VIII.—MEDIÆVAL INDIA: THE CHAGTAI CONQUEST	153
„ IX.—THE OPIUM QUESTION, OR “IS INDIA TO BE SACRIFICED TO CHINA?”—	
I.—All about Opium. Sultzberger, 1884 :	110
Cannon Street, E. C. ... ..	168
II.—Truth about Opium. Brereton. Allan & Co. ...	<i>ib.</i>
III.—Truth about Opium-smoking. Bromhall, Hoddes & Stoughton. ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
IV.—Friend of China. Dyer Brothers, Paternoster Row ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
V.—Christlieb : Indo-British Opium and its Effects. Nisbet, Berner Street ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
VI.—Vindication of England's Policy. Haines, 1884 : Allan & Co. ... ..	<i>ib.</i>



ART. IX—THE OPIUM QUESTION, OR “IS INDIA TO BE SACRIFICED TO CHINA?”—(*Continued.*) PAGE.

VII.—China Yellow Book Opium. II. Special Series No. 4 : Shanghai, 1881. ... ..	168
VIII.—England, China and Opium. Fry. 1873. Bumpus, Holborn ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
IX.—Opium Question Solved. Arnold, Partridge & Co., 1882, Paternoster Row ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
X.—Opium Question. Moule. Seeley, Fleet Street, 1877 ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
„ X.—CASTE AND CUSTOM ... ..	189
„ XI.—THE CORE OF THE RENT BILL. ... ..	207
ROS SOLIS.—THE DROSERA : A CARNIVOROUS PLANT... ..	219
THE QUARTER ... ..	221

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS FOR 1883-4:—

1.—Report on the Administration of the Land Revenue of Bengal, 1883-84* ... ..	232
2.—Progress Report. Forest Administration, Bengal ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
3.—Financial Results of the Excise Administration, Lower Provinces, 1883-84 ... ..	233
4.—Report on the Administration of the Salt Department of Bengal, 1883-84... ..	234
5.—Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department, Government of India, for 1883-84 ... ..	<i>ib.</i>

CRITICAL NOTICES:—

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

1.—Malleeson's Battle-fields of Germany, London : W. H. Allen & Co., 1884 ... ..	i
2.—The National Review for October ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
3.—A short history of the Indian people ... ..	iii
4.—Forestry in Southern India. By Major General H. K. Morgan. Edited by John Short, M.D., M.K., C.P., F.L.S., Higginbotham & Sons, Madras ... ..	iv

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE.—(*Continued.*) PAGE.

- 5.—“Echoes.” By Two Writers : Lahore Civil and Military Press ... .. iv
- 6.—Gazeteer, North-Western Provinces. Volume II. North-Western Provinces, Government Press ... .. vii
- 7.—Wide Awake Stories :—a collection of Tales told by Little Children between sunset and sunrise, in the Punjab and Kashmir. By F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple. Bombay, Education Society's Press, and London, Trübner & Co., 1884 ... .. viii
- 8.—The Orient, an Anglo-Indian Monthly Magazine. Conducted by R. Bates. Printed at the “Caxton Printing Works,” Bombay. December 1884 ... .. ix
- 9.—Prairie Pictures, Little, and other Poems. By John Cameron Grant, Author of “Songs from the Sunny South,” “a Year of Life,” “The Price of the Bishop,” etc. London : Longman, Green & Co., 1884 ... .. *ib.*
- 10.—In the Watches of the Night. Poems. (In eighteen volumes.) By Mrs. Horace Dohell, vol. 3, London : Remington & Co. ... .. x
- 11.—The Poison Tree, a Tale of Hindu Life in Bengal. By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Translated by Miriam S. Knight, with a Preface by Edwin Arnold, C. S. I. London : T. Fisher, Unwin, 1884 ... .. *ib.*

## 2.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.—

- 12.—Bangagriha. By Sitanath Nandi, B. A. Printed and Published by Bhuban Mohan Ghosh, at 210-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, 1291 B. S. ... .. *ib.*
- 13.—Griha-Lakshmi. By Girijá Prasanna Ráya Chaudhuri. Printed by Sarachchandra Deb at the Biná Press, 37, Mechuabazar Street, and Published by Gurudás Chatterji, at the Bengal Medical Library, 97, College Street, Calcutta, 1291 B.S. ... .. xii
- 14.—Ami. By Kálimaya Ghatak. Printed and Published by H. M. Mukharji and Co., at the New Sanskrit Press, 11, Simla Street, Calcutta, 1291 B. S. ... .. xiv



2.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.—*Continued.*)

PAGE.

- 15.—Ramani-bijnan. By Durgá Charan Ráya Kabi-  
raj. Printed and Published by Amaranath  
Chakrabarti, at the People's Press, 78, College  
Street, Calcutta, 1291 B. S. ... xv
- 16.—Niháriká. By the Authoress of Banalátá.  
Printed by Purna Chandra Datta, at the Banga-  
basi Machine Press, 34-1, Kalutolá Street, and  
Published by S. K. Láhiri & Co., at 14, College  
Square, Calcutta, 1291 B. S. ... xvi
- 17.—Pushpapunja. By Srimati Sorasibálá Dasi.  
Printed by Tárini Charan Dás, at the Bharavi  
Press, 48, Wellington Street, and Published by  
the Shomaprokásh Depository, 97, College Street,  
Calcutta, 1291 B. S. ... *ib.*
- 18.—Patáká. A Weekly Newspaper and Review.  
Edited by Jnándralál Raya, M.A. Nos. 1 to 6. *ib.*
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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CLIX.

## ART I.—THE THARUS AND BOGSHAS OF UPPER INDIA.

THE Thârus inhabit the long strip of swamp and forest called the Tarai, lying between the plains of Hindustan and the foot of the Himalaya mountains. To the east they extend about as far as the river Kûsi, where they come into contact with the Mechas, a tribe similar to themselves in habits and feature, and inhabiting that portion of the Tarai which separates the plains of Bengal from the hills of Sikkim.\* To the west they extend as far as the river Sârda, which flows between Kumaon and Nepal. At this point they dovetail with another forest-tribe similar to themselves in appearance and culture, the Bogshas, whom we shall describe more fully hereafter. The strictly Bogsha region commences from the Gola (or Kicha) river, about 30 miles to the west of the Sârda, and extends westward as far as the Ganges, while a few straggling villages are to be found still further west as far as the Jumna. Between the Sârda and the Gola rivers, there is a debateable tract (about 30 miles wide as we have said,) in which both tribes occasionally reside. In one village, at least, and probably in more, the inhabitants are the progeny of mixed parentage, although intermarriage between the tribes is not openly allowed by either.†

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\* This is stated on the authority of Dr. Hooker, the great Himalayan botanist. But is questioned (apparently without much reason) by Dr. Stewart, in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXIV, 1865. Part II., p. 148.

† The boundaries here given are the result of a compromise between the somewhat conflicting accounts given in the *North-West Provinces Census Report*, 1867, Vol. I, App. B, p. 61, and *Elliot's Supplemental Glossary*, Vol. I., p. 20, Edit. 1869.



## 2 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

By the Census of 1881 (North-West Provinces and Oudh,) the total number of Tharus in the united provinces, (exclusive, of course, of those in Behar,) was 27,172; while that of Bogshas was only 5,664. The larger number is, therefore, well proportioned to the larger area.

Each tribe affects superiority over the other, and emphatically disowns anything like a common origin or an equal status. But the grounds on which respective superiority is claimed are either insignificant or false. The Bogshas charge the Tharus with rearing fowls, which they do; the former tribe having learnt from Hindus to consider this bird as unclean. The Tharus charge the Bogshas with selling flesh and fish, which they indignantly deny, disdaining to be placed on a level with the low Hindu castes of butchers and fishermen. The Bogshas charge them back with eating frogs and lizards, which is certainly untrue.\* "It is a circumstance worth remarking," says Mr. Colvin, writing in 1866, "that two tribes, under such similar circumstances, should have kept so distinct while living in such close proximity." But this is the rule amongst savages. In such communities a sense of mutual respect or friendship is the last thing that is thought of or desired. The closer the neighbourhood, the greater the provocation to jealousy, hostility, or contempt. Even within the Tharu and Bogsha tribes themselves, there is a constantly repeated process of sub-division into minute clans, many of whom regard each other with contempt and always on the most frivolous grounds.

### THARUS.

Absurd etymologies have been given for the name *Tharu*, some deriving it from *tahre*, "they halted" (after their alleged flight into the forest), others from *tar hua*, "wet," in allusion to the swampy nature of the tract they live in. One writer derives it from *âthwâru*, "an eighth day serf."† But this implies what is not true. The Tharus are remarkable for their indolence, aversion to service, and incapacity for sustained field labour; and they have never been in the position of serfs to any landlords. Had this been the case they would have sunk long ago into the ranks of Arakhs, Pâsis, Chamârs, Koris, and other Hindu castes of the lowest rank, who serve as field labourers or bond slaves to

\* North-West Provinces Census Report, 1867, vol. I, App. B., p. 62. See also Journal A. S. B., Vol. XXXIV, part II, p. 149.

† The first etymology is alluded to in Oudh Gazetteer, 1877, vol. II, p. 126. The second in North-West Census Report, 1867, vol. I, p. 61. The third (the author of which is Raja Siva Prasad, C.S.I.) in North-West Provinces Gazetteer, 1881, vol. VI, p. 358.

## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.* 3

landlords in the open plain, and have lost the free life of the forest, which Thârus still enjoy. Another etymology suggested is from *thâr*, which in the colloquial dialect of the lowest classes, but not in the language of books, signifies forest; and thus *thâru* would mean "man of the forest," a name which correctly describes the status of the tribe.\* On the whole, however, it is safer not to seek for any Hindi etymology; but to consider the name as sprung from the language of the tribe itself, which is now for the most part obsolete. An aboriginal name, underived from any Sanskrit or neo-Sanskrit source, is the fit appellation to an aboriginal, casteless, and un-Brahmanized tribe, whose customs have been only slightly modified by contact with those of the Aryan invader.

The means by which Thârus maintain a livelihood, consist partly in hunting and fishing, partly in gathering forest fruits and vegetables, partly in grazing cows and buffaloes, and keeping pigs, fowls and goats, and partly in a rude kind of agriculture.

As hunters they despise and shun such vermin as jackals, snakes, and lizards, with which many of the hunting tribes in the treeless plains of Hindustan are now compelled to be content. The animals which they chiefly hunt are the wild boar, the deer, the antelope, and other large game, in which their forests still abound, and which were once very numerous in Hindustan, before the forest had disappeared. They also lay snares for the porcupine (*sâhi*), and eat its flesh, which is considered to bear some likeness to that of the pig. Sometimes, but only when they are pressed for food, they will eat field rats. They are fond of hares, when they can catch them; and they are not averse to the flesh of the river tortoise. When the stock of meat happens to have become larger than they can consume at once, their mode of preserving it is by cutting it into strips and drying it in the sun,—the same method as that practised by the savages of Australia, and imitated in the same continent by the English colonists and settlers, who call it by the name of jerking.

As fishermen, they make no distinction between the clean and the unclean, but consume scaled and scaleless

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\* I have not heard the word *thâr* myself; but I give it on the authority of a native, who has paid some attention to colloquial dialects. The word *thâru* is pronounced with the hard *t*, and the *h* is not pronounced as if it were part of the *t*, as in the English *that*, but is separately sounded immediately after the *t*. Mr. Colvin in North-West Census Report, 1869, Appendix B, p. 61, says that the "word *Târu*, by which the tribe is commonly known, has no sound of the *h*." This is not my own experience, nor that of any one whom I have consulted.



#### 4 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

fish alike. Their chief implements are the hook and line, the net, and the funnel-shaped basket, the same appliances as those used by their kinsfolk, the Chains, Gaunds, Meors, and other fishing castes of Hindustan. Another method, which is probably peculiar to themselves, consists in mixing some poisonous substance with baits, and throwing the baits into the water, having first dammed up the brook. The fish die after eating this bait, and their bodies are picked up as they float on the surface of the stream.

The forest supplies them not only with pasture for their cattle, but with many kinds of roots and fruits which they collect for food to themselves. Their favourite root is a plant of the yam species, which grows very plentifully at the foot of the mountains. Wild rice, the flower of the mahwa tree, and the fruit of the wild fig-tree, are gathered in their several seasons.

As agriculturists they are still for the most part in the migratory stage, cultivating the land on which they have put up their temporary houses, till it has given proof of exhaustion, and then moving off to fresh grounds to make a new clearance. Formerly it was their custom not to crop the same land for more than two years together. But this is now no longer the case. The government conservancy laws, which have come into force of late, have interfered very seriously with their freedom in the selection of new sites, and hence the present tendency of the tribe is either to move up into Naipal territory, or to remain below for a longer period in the same place. The crop in which Thârus chiefly delight is rice,—the grain best suited to the swampy nature of their fields and to the heavy rainfall of the months between June and October. The coarse red rice called sâthi is the quality preferred. In the rainless months they chiefly grow peas, a small black grain called kodo, and the pulse called arhar. Such crops require occasional irrigation; and this is effected, not by drawing water from wells or from tanks and marshes, and conveying it into the fields through artificial channels, as is the custom of Hindu cultivators; but by the rough and ready process of damming up the nearest rivulet and thus inundating the crop. As an eye-witness relates, “they are utterly reckless with water “with which they inundate their fields, and utterly careless of “the swamps they may be forming. Indeed, most of the “worst swamps could easily be proved to owe their origin “to the rude irrigating means used by these people.”\* It is interesting to observe that the diversion or obstruction of the natural courses of streams is a practice strongly condemned

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\* North West Census Report, 1869, vol. I, Appendix B, p. 61, para. 8.

## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.* 5

by the author of Manu's Code ; which proves that the Thârus are only now practising a custom, which was common among the lower tribes or castes of Hindustan some 2,000 years ago.\*

Those Thârus who live on the edge rather than in the centre of the forest are still the pioneers of agriculture to the denizens of the open plain,—a function which they share with Doms, Bhars, and other semi-savage tribes, whose stage of culture is about on a level with their own. Squatting on the outskirts of the forest, they cut down and burn the trees and undergrowth, and prepare the land for its first rough coating of tillage, leaving it, after the first two or three crops have been gathered, to the steadier industry of the Kurmi or Lodh, who rapidly succeed to their places.

The women do the largest share of the sowing, weeding, and harvesting, while the men engage in hunting, fishing, &c., which they consider the proper calling of their sex. Such has been the invariable instinct of savage tribes both in India and elsewhere. The men have an intense repugnance to regular manual labour, and nothing will induce them to hire themselves out as labourers to Hindu landlords. The only kind of service which a Thâru will undertake is that of elephant-driver to some neighbouring princelet or râja. Their skill as elephant-drivers is admitted everywhere ; and latterly they have acquired the art of catching wild elephants from the forest, and taming them for the prince who employs them.†

The typical picture of a Thâru village is that of a line of huts situated in the middle of a forest clearance. At the back of this line lie the cattle-pens, in which the cows and buffaloes are stalled for the night. During the night the crops and the cattle are kept constantly under watch to prevent the inroads of wild animals ; while the forest, which forms the hunting ground in the day time, bounds the horizon on all sides.

The number of inhabitants to a village varies from 30 to 150 ; but the higher of these figures is not often reached. Large village communities are never seen : for in the simple mode of life which Thârus are accustomed to lead, there is no such variety or inter-dependence of interests and pursuits as could hold a large community together. Cattle grazing, hunting, and the growing of crops within a narrow area, demand the isolation of a few rather than the aggregation of many ; and this is one of the causes of the minute subdivision into

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\* *Institutes of Manu*, chap. III, Sloka 163.

† This is true for example in the case of the Balrampur estates, in the Gonda district, Oudh. The râja of these estates has a very large stock of elephants, which are almost entirely kept and driven by a band of Thârus employed for the purpose.



## 6 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

clans to which we have already alluded as characteristic of the more backward races.

The houses are not built with clay, nor made to stand on the earth, as is the custom in Hindu villages. They are fixed upon piles, which raise the flooring some six or eight feet into the air. The flooring is made of bamboo poles laid against each other in parallel lines. The door or entrance to the house is connected with the earth by a ladder. The walls are made of wattle, inlaid with layers of the strong *bankas* grass, and smeared over externally with mud and cow dung. The roofing is of thatch. A dwelling raised into the air, as these are, affords a double protection,—from the beasts of prey which infest these solitary jungles at night, and from the inundations to which the land is subject during the prevalence of the monsoon. Sometimes, during this season, the ground on which the village stands is entirely covered with water; and hence the plan of building on piles is the best that could be devised for health and comfort. Houses of a similar description may be seen in the lowland districts of Burma, in the corresponding parts of Siam, and in many other tropical or sub-tropical countries where similar conditions exist. Probably at one time they were common in the central plains of Hindustan, especially in the lowlands which lie between the convergence of rivers and are subject to occasional floods. But even here such dwellings are now no longer to be seen. The disappearance of the primeval forest, caused by the inevitable spread of cultivation, has compelled the substitution of clay for poles, reeds and thatch; and the durable earth-built dwellings which are now universally used are, on the whole, better suited to the settled agricultural life of Hindu villagers than temporary reed-built huts such as were probably used by their hunting or nomad ancestors.

Every village community provides itself with a well, to ensure a regular supply of drinking water during the rainless months; but these wells are never used for irrigating fields. At the time of digging a well, every able-bodied man and woman in the village lends a helping hand to secure this common benefit. The subsoil in these tracts is often sandy and shifting; and to prevent the sides of the well from falling in, two methods are employed. One consists in inserting the hollowed trunk of a *sâl* tree—the same material as that which is still largely used in Northern India for making single-logged canoes; the other is by lining the sides of the well with planks or poles, and dovetailing the ends into each other.\* As the water-level in these

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\* The first method is described in the North West Provinces Census Report, 1867. vol. I., App. B. p. 62. The second in Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, p. 502.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.* 7

forest tracts is not as low as it usually is in the open plains, the wells are seldom more than 14 or 16 feet deep.

In these shallow and rudely constructed wells, we may detect the first models of the deep masonry wells, which are now thickly scattered over the vast arid plains of Upper India, and which alone prevent them from relapsing annually into a desert during the 8 rainless months of the year. The first wells in this plain must have been dug near the river banks, where the first townships were formed; and these wells were probably of the same description as those still made by Thârus. But as cultivation extended into the uplands, and the forest receded further and further away from the river banks, it was necessary to extend the supply of water at an equal pace, both for the sustenance of men and cattle, and for the irrigation of crops. In this way men learnt by degrees to dig for water to a depth, at which its existence could never have been suspected without this previous preparation.

Every little village is a self-governing community. Disputes are decided by a council of elders; and this is sometimes presided over by a headman, who in the Thâru language was formerly called *barwaik*, but who is now dubbed even by themselves with the ordinary Hindi title of *chaudhari*. The office of headman is not hereditary. The man selected is one, whose age, experience, and knowledge of the magical and medicinal arts entitle him to more respect than the rest; and he acquires the status of headman by tacit consent, and not by formal election. The decisions of the council or the headman are obeyed unreservedly; and there is no such thing known as a Thâru taking a fellow tribesman before a tribunal outside his own community. Litigation between Thârus and Hindus is equally unknown. Among themselves, the Thârus are for the most part, a peaceful and good natured race, following without question, as if by a law of nature, the customs and maxims of their ancestors.

Sometimes, however, questions of guilt or innocence arise, which can only be decided by an appeal to oath or ordeal. The strongest form of oath which a Thâru man or woman can take, (and this is evidently unborrowed from any Hindu or other outside source), is by placing the hand on the lingam of Mahadev or on the shrine of Kâlikâ, (the two great deities of the tribe, to be described hereafter), and with this act making a declaration of innocence. A less potent oath, and one evidently borrowed from Hindus, is by holding water in the palm of the hand,—the water being supposed to have come from the Ganges. When two persons accuse each other of some fault, and it is known that one or other must be guilty,



## 8 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

resort is had to the floating test. The two disputants are flung simultaneously into deep water, and the one who rises first is declared guilty ;—the same kind of ordeal as that practiced at this day by the Kangars of Upper India, by several un-Brahmanized tribes in Central India, by the hunting and fishing tribes of Berar, and, seven or eight centuries ago, by the people of England.\* Another kind of ordeal practised by the Thâru tribe consists in throwing a coin into a bowl of boiling oil or boiling water, and thrusting in the arm to take it out. If the arm comes out unblistered, the person is declared innocent. The very same test prevailed among the ancient Norse.† The analogies in both cases must be ascribed to the apparently universal instinct, that water is too pure to retain the guilty, and fire too pure to harm the innocent.

From the simple organization of a Thâru village community, we may gather what an aboriginal village was like in ancient India in pre-Aryan times ; and observe how wide a contrast exists between this primitive type and the more complex constitution of the modern "Hindu Township," which has grown up out of it under the influence of Brahmans. Before the Aryas had come, and while India was still uninhabited by races alien to her own soil, every village community was a compact, homogeneous whole, made up entirely of members belonging to one and the same tribe ; and this tribe allowed of no admixture with families taken from tribes other than itself. Every village or group provided for its own wants, made its own tools and weapons, and was in all respects a self-sufficing body. But after the Aryas had come, bringing with them new tools, new arts, new views of life, and new types of industry, the indigenous tribes, amongst whom they were forced to settle, and by whom they were eventually absorbed, crumbled away by degrees into new combinations, the basis of each of which was some acquired speciality of function. These combinations are what in India are called castes. Now the modern Hindu township is made up of families taken from a great variety of these castes,—the priest and astrologer (Brahman), the landlord (Chattri), the shopkeeper (Baniya), the accountant (Patwâri), the barber (Napit), the carpenter (Barhai), the blacksmith (Lohar), the potter (Kumhar), the watchman (Chaukidar), the scavenger (Chuhra), and so forth ; and as none of these functionaries can intermarry or take food with any other, there is no homogeneity of stock within the same community, and no unity of feeling or tradition, such as prevailed

\* *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. IV, ch. 27. *Berar Census Report*, 1881, p. 135. *Asiatic Studies* by Sir A. Lyall, edit. 1882, chap. IV, p. 83.

† Thorpe's Translation of the Edda. Part II, p. 106., edit. 1866, Trubner and Co., London. Vide *Third Lay of Gudrun*.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 9*

in the old aboriginal village, and such as still prevails in the villages of Thârus, and in those of any other casteless and un-Brahmanized tribe which may have survived the general wreck. The caste system of the Hindus has broken up the primitive unity of the village, as it has that of the nation at large. Instead of the various classes forming one organic brotherhood, they are divided from each other by inorganic sections, like geological strata.

Rice, which (as we have shewn already) is the staple crop grown by Thârus, is used not only for food, but for distilling an alcoholic drink, in which they indulge very freely on occasions. This drink is used at religious feasts and marriage banquets ; and men, who sit out on watch at night to guard their fields from wild buffaloes, wild boars, &c, say that it preserves them from the effects of cold and damp. It is a fact worth noticing, that there is scarcely a savage tribe in any part of the world, which has not discovered some way of brewing fermented liquor. The art is certainly known to every casteless tribe in Upper India and to every Hindu caste of the lowest rank ; and all of these tribes and castes are addicted to habits of drunkenness.

In the domestication of wild animals and birds, the Thârus may justly claim a large share of credit. They are among the tribes who have tamed the hog, the wild cow, the buffalo, and the elephant.\* But what they are most famous for is the domestication of the wild jungle fowl, which is still abundant in the sub-Himalayan forests. The fowl is their favourite food, preferred even to pork or fish. They are noted for the skill with which they rear fine poultry, and especially fine capons. In this respect they are the equals, if not the instructors, of Khatiks,—a caste of Hindus, which stands very low in the social scale, and is only a few degrees removed from the savage state. The flesh of cows or buffaloes is never eaten by Thârus, as these animals are considered sacred, or at least too sacred to be killed.

Another kind of achievement at which Thârus excel is the destruction of tigers and other ferocious beasts. Two methods are employed for accomplishing this. One is that of the booby trap. The carcass of a cow is placed in a trench dug deep and wide enough to keep it fast in the earth,—cow's flesh being lawful food for tigers, but unlawful for men. Attached

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\* The art of taming wild animals, (elephants, bulls, horses, camels, birds, &c.), was practised by the Indian tribes in the time of Manu, who alludes to it in chap. III, Sloka 162. The men who practised such arts must have been much in the same stage of culture as Thârus now are ; for he couples them with certain other men, " who are to be avoided with great care " by Brahmans. Sloka 166.



## 10 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

to this carcass is a rope, the other end of which is fastened to a plank laid across the trench. On this plank heavy blocks of rock or wood are placed, which falling on the tiger's head, as he attempts to pull away the cow, half stun him for the moment. Before he has had time to recover, the men on watch run up and despatch him with clubs. \* The other method consists in digging a much deeper hole, and covering it lightly over with poles, sticks, and earth. On the centre of this covering a baited trap is laid. When the beast is caught, a man inside the hole prods its belly with a spear, while another above batters its skull with a club till it dies. Usually, however, the tiger is the friend rather than the enemy of Thâru villagers; for he protects their fields at night against the raids of wild boars, buffaloes, &c. It is only when he has conceived a taste for human flesh, that plots are laid for his destruction.

For hunting the wild boar or antelope, one method consists in tracking it secretly into its cover, and then hurling the spear into its side, (after the fashion of the Homeric heroes), as it attempts to flee. Another method consists in making a net, (which in the Thâru language is known as *Khâbhar*), and suspending it lightly in the air by means of ropes. When the animal touches it, the net suddenly descends, and the beast becomes entangled in the meshes, when it is at once despatched. Even tigers are sometimes destroyed by this method.

The tools and weapons used by Thârus are not made by themselves. The share of the plough, the point of the spear, the blade of the axe or hatchet, and the blade of the hoe with which they dig the yam and other tubers out of the earth, are procured from Lohars, the iron-smiths of the Indian plains. Since iron tools and weapons can be so easily procured, and are so much more effective and durable than those of stone, the manufacture of the latter has long ceased; and no recollection of it has survived even in Thâru tradition. The *kâkari*, or large curved knife, which forms such an indispensable part of a Thâru's outfit, and without which he is seldom seen abroad, is procured from hillsmen of Naipal. The handles of all the above tools, excepting the last, are still made by Thârus themselves. Their plough is of the same design as that used by Hindus, but more simple; for the *janghâ*, or upright pole to which the oxen are attached, is in the same piece of wood with the *kopi*, or curved part to which the iron share is fastened.

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\* This method is described in Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, p. 503, by Mr. Benett, late Assistant Commissioner of Gonda, who adds, however, that "the bravery of the Thârus is proved by their love of the chase, though it does not appear in their singular contrivance for killing tigers." It appears to me that there are very few men in the world who would shew equal courage in coping with a tiger, armed with nothing but a club.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 11*

The only kinds of art or manufacture which Thârus can be said to possess are the manipulation of leaves, reeds, and fibres, and a rude kind of carpentry. The latter is exemplified, as we have already shewn, in making the wooden part of the plough, in shaping the handles of tools, dovetailing the corners of wells, and in fixing up the sides and roofs and floors of their houses. The former is an accomplishment common to backward races in every part of the world, wherever the materials exist; and here in India it is practised by all the low castes of Hindus (Bhars, Pâsis, Bhangis, Bâris, Dharkars, &c.,) whose stage of culture is scarcely, if at all, raised above that of the castless tribes. The Thârus make strong and durable mats out of the fine *bankas* grass, which they gather in large quantities from the lower ranges of the hills in the first quarter of the year. Excellent twine and rope are made from the same material; and such twine is used for the manufacture of fishing nets, nooses and snares, for drawing water from the well, for tethering cattle, and many other purposes. Not less skilled are they in making the funnel-shaped baskets in which fish are caught, or in thatching the roofs of their houses. They have even invented a kind of umbrella made of cane and mat work; so great is their aversion to the sun and to the open plains. For plates and drinking cups they skewer large leaves together to the shape required for either purpose; and for drawing and keeping water they use a hollowed gourd or tomri. Some who are better off than others use vessels made of clay or brass; but these can only be obtained from Kumhârs (potters) and Thateras (braziers), both of whom are Hindus castes; for there is no such thing as home-made pottery or brass work amongst the Thâru tribe.

Their dance is national and peculiar, and is invariably performed by boys or men, never by girls or women. It has been thus described by an eye witness. "A boy of fifteen or sixteen is dressed as a woman, and his partner beats a small drum suspended from the neck. The pair advance and retreat with a gliding motion, and represent with coarse fidelity the advances of the lover and the coyness of the maid. As they proceed, they warm to the work; and I shall never forget the extatic but somewhat ludicrous rapture, which shone in the face and spoke in every limb of the drummer after two hours of the exercise and the infusion of a large amount of raw spirits. Every now and then the dancing gives place to a dramatic interlude, in which a dullard is made the butt of the rough and occasionally obscene wit of the leading actor. These scenes were invariably the vehicle of satire; and the Brahmans of the plains, and Sir Jung Bahadur of Naipal, were visited with unsparing ridicule." \*

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\* Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, p. 504, article by Mr. Benett.



## 12 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

Dancing and acting of this nature may take place at any time of the year, for the mere sake of amusement. But the occasions on which feasts and dances are chiefly celebrated, are at the time of leading a bride away from her own to her husband's village, at the birth of a son, and at the two great religious festivals of the year, the Kâlikâ and the Holi, which we shall describe hereafter.

Though their songs and dances are national and peculiar, their musical instruments are borrowed and made by others. The most important of these is the drum, the instrument which has exercised such a strange fascination over savage races in every part of the world. The Thâru drum (*madrâ*) is not quite the same as the Hindu, and is manufactured by hillsmen of Naipal.\* The instrument valued next to the drum is the brass cymbal.

We now come to the subject of marriages, births, and burials. In regard to marriage, the first thing to be noticed is, that until the nuptial ceremony has been completed, and the woman has become the recognized property of some individual man, she is regarded as the common property of her clan, and is treated accordingly. Till then there is no restriction of intercourse between the sexes,—a custom which has come down undiminished by the lapse of thousands of years, from that primeval state of society, which preceded the institution of marriage, and which science has now fully proved to have been the original condition of man. Even when the marriage knot has been tied, it is not very difficult to get it unloosed; for the contract is not binding for life, or invested with anything like a sacred character, as it is with Hindus; and men can, and do, exchange their wives in a spirit of mutual accommodation, as is still the case among the Burmese. It should be added, however, that so long as the contract between the man and the woman lasts, the latter is as chaste and faithful as any wife could be.

The usual age for marriage on the woman's part is about 17 or 18, which, allowing for difference of climate, corresponds with 20 or 22 in Europe. A man usually makes his first marriage at about the same age. After what has just been said of the status of a girl before marriage, it is needless to add that there is no custom amongst Thârus of betrothing a girl at the age of 6 and getting her married at 10 or 11, such as prevails amongst Hindus. The marriage contract is arranged not by the parties themselves, but by the fathers on either side; and the pair for whom the negotiation is made have no power either to choose or refuse. The father of the youth goes over to the village or clan in which the father of the young

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\* There are two kinds of Hindu drums, the smaller called *mridung*, and the larger called *dhol*. These are sometimes used by Thârus; but the *madrâ* is preferred.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 13*

woman resides, and after making his proposals about the price to be paid for her, offers him a drink of wine, and if the present is accepted, the bargain is closed. The contract once made is faithfully kept by both parties. The price paid for the woman may be in cash or in kind, and its value depends upon the means of the purchaser or the attractiveness of the woman.

The choice of a bride is limited by the rule of exogamy. In other words, she must not be a blood relation to the husband chosen for her, nor of the same village, nor of the same clan, but of some outside village and clan. This rule of exogamy has prevailed (as is well known) very widely, if not universally, in the primitive types of society; and I regard it as the historical sequel to the still older custom of marriage by capture. As we have shewn already, a woman, until she became the property of some individual man, was the property of her clan; and hence the only way in which the man could establish a right to individual ownership was to steal or capture a woman from some other clan. What was at first done by force or stealth was transformed by degrees into a peaceful and openly recognized custom; and hence the rule of exogamy, or the procuring of a wife from some clan other than that to which the man himself belonged, but within the same tribal union, became a widely established custom among primitive races. The custom certainly holds good to this day among the *Gotras* or clans of every Indian caste; and has been borrowed (as I think) from the aboriginal and casteless tribes, out of the fragments of which the caste system itself was gradually formed.

Even now wife-capture is secretly practised to some extent amongst the Tharus. They have been known to carry off girls by stealth from the Bogsha tribe conterminous with their own borders on the Sarda river, and from the Naipalese tribes living on the outer spurs of the Himâlaya mountains: and this practice of getting wives from Naipal will explain the slightly Mongolian caste of face, which has now become rather common, though not universal, among the Tharu tribe.\* But though the *fact* of wife-capture has become almost obsolete, the *form* is still preserved in the manner in which the bride is conducted to her new home. The father of the bridegroom never goes to take her away from her own clan or village, unless he is accompanied by a select guard of fellow tribesmen. They enter the bride's house in the evening, eat and drink all that they can get there in the way of pig, goat, wine, rice, and ghi, and then carry her off on the following morning, led by a band of men-dancers, men-singers, and men-musicians, while the bride herself screams and cries as if she was being led off by violence. All this implies

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\* Another type of elopement is alluded to in Oudh Gazetteer, vol. II, p. 501.



#### 14 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

a demonstration of force, though no such thing as force is really anticipated or intended. To complete the analogy to the old custom of wife-capture, there is no celebration of nuptial ceremonies after the bride and bridegroom have come to their journey's end. As soon as they enter the house appointed for them, they are *ipso facto* man and wife; and nothing more is required to make them so. The marriage ritual, if we may call it so, consists simply in the fact of his having brought her away from her own clan with some ceremonial display of force, just as in the earliest times, when wife-capture was a reality, and not merely a form, it was simply the seizing and bringing away of the woman which made her the wife and property of her captor. Some of the forms of marriage by capture, such as the shrieking of the maid, and the *barât* or procession of men by which she is carried off, have survived to the present day in the nuptial ceremonies of Hindus.

We see, then, from the ancient customs of mankind, as still partially exemplified amongst the Thârus, that in the oldest type of society a woman was exposed to a double evil,—the stain of communism within her own clan so long as she remained there, and the risk of forcible abduction into an alien clan, where she became the wife-slave of the man who captured her. And herein, I think, lies the secret of the seemingly irrational and certainly unnatural customs of Hindus, by which a girl is betrothed at 6 or 8 and married at 10 or 11. The betrothal ceremony is considered by all classes of the Hindu community to be of immense importance. The force of public opinion has made it as binding as marriage itself. If the boy dies before the marriage is performed, the child who has been betrothed remains a widow for life. A father is publicly disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen, if he neglects to get his daughter finally married before she has completed the age of 12. There are few points in which the social customs of the Hindus have been more severely condemned. But though it may be granted that the time has long passed, when any good could be gained from their retention, it may yet be contended that they have been of some use in their day, and that customs so opposed to the plain dictates of nature could not have been accepted by a rational people without some rational purpose. It must be remembered that the natives of Hindustan, at the time when they first appear in history as antagonists to the invading Aryans, were in the savage stage, and that they have owed their subsequent reclamation, imperfect as it is, to the subtle and ever widening influence of Hinduism,—a composite and very elastic creed, made up of the fusion of Aryan with native or aboriginal elements. I conceive, then, that the customs, to which so much exception has been taken, were the restraints imposed by this creed upon



the rough matrimonial usages of the races amongst whom its lot was cast,—some of which usages were formerly countenanced even by Hinduism itself as a concession to the prevailing savagery. Marriage by stealth, marriage by capture, and marriage by the simple act of voluntary reciprocal intercourse, were all recognised by the ancient Hindu lawgivers as permissible to certain castes ; and even Brahmans, the holy priests and teachers of Hinduism, were allowed to indulge in the kind last named.\* It is no wonder, then, that a religion, which was forced to concede so much to existing custom, should have sought to provide safeguards for the protection of the weaker sex through some counter-teaching of its own. By ruling, as it did, that a girl must be betrothed and married at a tender age to a youth of some outside clan, and by making this rule binding for life on pain of the severest penalties, it protected her both from the stain of communism within her own clan, and from the risk of forcible abduction into another. This explains, too, how it has come to pass that amongst Hindus, and Hindus only, the larger price is paid for the youth, and the smaller one for the maid,—an exact inversion of the rule which prevails everywhere else. The Hindi word for betrothal is *māngni*, that is, “begging” for a boy : for until the boy had been secured, the girl was not safe. It is well known, too, to every one who has lived in India, that the greatest insult which one Hindu can utter against another is to call him by a name which implies that he has polluted a girl of his own clan ; for all such girls are in the eye of Hindu law regarded as sisters, that is, as daughters of the same father, and therefore such pollution wears the character of incest. This term of abuse so offensive to a Hindu conveys no meaning at all to a Thâru.

The month in which most, if not all, marriage ceremonies are performed is March, this being, for religious reasons which will be explained below, the most festive and conjugal month in

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\* Manu mentions 8 kinds of marriage, see chap. III, Slokas 20-34. The last 4 of these are (1) Asura, as when the damsel is bought or paid for by the would-be bridegroom. This is *now* the custom of Thârus. It prevailed and prevails very widely among the backward races ; and is the form of contract which superseded the rougher method of seizing a girl by force. (2) Gandharva, by which man and woman became united as husband and wife by the mere act of voluntary connection. This dates from a time when marriage did not exist in any form, but intercourse was free and unrestrained. (3) Râkshasa, or marriage by capture in open fight. (4) Pisâcha, or marriage by stealth. Brahmans were allowed all but the two last, see Sloka 23 ; and Kshatriyas all but the last, Sloka 26. The following line in *Shighrabodh*, by Kâshinâth, has been brought to my notice : “He who gives away his daughter at 8, goes to Brahma’s heaven (the “highest) ; at 9, to Vishnu’s heaven (not so high) ; at 10, to the Serpent world ; at an age after 10, to hell.” This shews what stress is laid by Hinduism on early betrothal and marriage.



## 16 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

the year. Brahmans are not consulted, as amongst Hindus for the selection of auspicious days. In fact, as we have shewn already in connection with the national dances and interludes of this tribe, the priests of Hinduism are made the subject of ridicule and satire rather than of respect. At present they have no place or status whatever in the social system of this primitive and isolated tribe ; but as almost every other tribe has been absorbed into the gulf of Hinduism, it must be expected that the Thârus will some day follow.

After the birth of a child, the mother is not allowed to taste food or water for two days. On the third day she is allowed to drink as much wine as she desires, and wine is rubbed over her body. Thâru women assist each other at the time of childbirth. They are said to be very skilful in midwifery ; and Chamâr women are not employed for such purposes, as amongst Hindus.

Like every other primitive tribe or race, whose customs and creeds have been brought to light, the Thârus have a kind of baptism or lustral ceremony for the benefit of new-born babes. On the day of its birth, the child is immersed in water, while the oldest man in the family pronounces over it certain auspicious words. After the immersion ceremony is over, the child is fumigated with fire and smoke : for fire, like water, has in all parts of the world been regarded as one of the great elements of physical and moral purity. A tuft of dry kans or kusha grass is dug out by the roots. After placing the head of a snake and the sting of a scorpion inside the tuft, they set it on fire, holding the flame as near as possible to the place where the child is lying. The ingredients taken from the snake and scorpion are intended to render the child proof for the remainder of his life against the attacks of secret enemies of all kinds. An iron tool is kept in the room where the child sleeps to avert the evil eye. When the child is four or five months old, a name is selected for it, and this is bestowed before an assembly of friends by the oldest man in the household.

The burial rites of Thârus are of various kinds. Sepulture or earth-burial seems to have been the original custom ; but the Hindu rite of cremation has now become common in many clans, except in the case of persons who have died of cholera or small-pox ; and these are invariably buried in the earth. After cremation the ashes are scattered on the nearest river. Before, however, the corpse has been disposed of by either rite, it is usual to paint it with vermilion and expose it for one night on a mound outside the house. From this mound, as from a stronghold, the spirit of the dead is supposed to scare away wild animals from the crops. Whether the body is buried or burnt, the ceremony is always performed on the southern



side of the village,—a notion probably borrowed from Hindus, who consider that the north is the region commonly frequented by divine spirits and the south by human souls.\* The man who puts the first fire to the funeral pyre is considered to be unclean, from having brought himself within dangerous reach of the contagion of death. He is therefore kept at a distance for ten days after cremation, and compelled to live entirely alone. The same abhorrence to igniting the funeral pyre is felt by Hindus, but they get over the difficulty by transferring the task to a man of the degraded tribe of Doms, who are employed all over Upper India not only for burning the dead but for hanging the living.

On the expiry of the tenth day, (or the thirteenth, as some Thârus relate), the friends of the deceased meet at the house where he died, and after undergoing the ceremony of shaving, they hold "a feast of the dead." The banquet prepared for this purpose consists of cooked flesh and wine, the scent and smoke of which are intended to refresh the departed soul; the solid parts, that is the flesh and wine themselves, are consumed by the living. Considering that customs analogous to this have prevailed in every part of the world, we can scarcely doubt that the Thâru funeral feast, or something closely resembling it, prevailed amongst the native tribes of Hindustan in ancient times, before they had become Brahmanized. Even to this day a feast to the dead is held by all castes of Hindus; but the men who eat it are not so much the friends or relatives of the deceased as Brahmins. This curious inversion of a custom so natural to the mind of man, is one amongst the many other facts which distinguish Hinduism from every other creed in the world. But the anomaly can be explained without much difficulty. An old and very influential code of Hindu law, (the Institutes of Manu), taught that offerings to the dead should, (as in all other countries), be made through fire; but the same code taught that "there is no difference between fire and a Brahman," and that an oblation of food to such a holy man is "an offering in the fire of a sacerdotal mouth."† A code still older than Manu's spoke even more distinctly on this point:—"The food eaten (at a funeral feast) by persons related to the giver is indeed a gift offered to devils. It reaches neither the souls of the dead nor the gods. Losing its efficacy, it wanders about over the earth, as a cow bereaved of her calf runs at random into a strange stall."‡ The same code says: "The

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\* *Institutes of Manu*, chap III, Sloka 206.

† *Institutes of Manu*, chap. III, 212. 91 168.

‡ *Apastamba Sûtras*, II, 7, 17, 8 and II, 7, 16, 3. See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. II p. 142, and 139. According to the translator (George Bühler) the author of the above Sûtras was domiciled among degraded and



## 18 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

"Brahmans (who are fed on this occasion) represent the Ahavan-  
"îya fire (the fire of the burnt offering.)" We see, then, how even at this very early age the caste of priests had begun to graft their own system upon the savage customs which they found everywhere in vogue around them, and how cleverly they managed to turn these customs to the furtherance of the interests of their own order.

In certain rare cases the burial rite is performed in a manner distinct from either of those already described. A man noted above his fellows for wisdom in counsel, bravery in the chase or knowledge of the magical and medicinal arts, is buried under the floor of the house in which he was living before his spirit departed. The house thenceforth becomes a temple, and ceases to be used as a dwelling place for man. The soul of the dead becomes its occupant, and it lives there to bless those whom it has left behind. At periods of three or six months after the death, the friends and neighbours of the deceased assemble around his grave or temple, and make an effigy in clay, parts of which are painted in various colours, intended to reproduce the appearance of resuscitated life. His worshippers fall down weeping and wailing before the image, and place offerings of cooked flesh and wine at its feet. Presently, at a given signal, as soon as the soul of the dead is believed to have been propitiated by the scent of roast meat and the fumes of wine, they commence to dance and sing with every demonstration of joy; and the proceedings of the day are closed with consuming the solid parts of the offerings.

This brings us to the subject of religion. The religion of Thârus is based on the belief in ghosts, and consists of little else. Amongst this, as amongst all other primitive tribes, the soul is believed to survive the body, wandering forth into space, and frequenting the haunts of the living sometimes with malignant, sometimes with friendly, intentions. It would be needless to allude to the immense mass of instances collected by Mr. Tylor in proof of the universality of this belief. The Thâru tribe was too little known to be used as evidence in his great work on Primitive Culture. But even the Thâru custom of burying distinguished men under the floor of the house in which they lived and died, and worshipping them at stated seasons, finds its analogue on the banks of the Tiber, where the greatest nation of antiquity followed at one time the simple custom of house-burial, but afterwards developed it into the more complex process of first burning the body outside the house, and then preserving the ashes in an urn and enshrining the said urn within the family dwelling, where the souls of the departed

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barbarous tribes at the time of their composition; see *Introd.* xxxv. This confirms the explanation which I have given in the text.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 19*

received daily worship as the Lares, Penates, or household gods. One Thâru, on being questioned what became of the soul after death, gave an answer which verifies with remarkable closeness the explanation of the ghost-theory given by Mr. Tylor. He said that at the time of sleep his soul or second self leaves him and wanders about at will; and as he was not able to say where his soul goes to or what it does during the intervals of sleep, so he could not pretend to say what became of it after the final sleep of death had set in. This comes very near the case, supposed by Mr. Tylor, of the thoughtful savage asking himself such questions as these: "What is it that makes the difference between a living body and a dead one? What causes waking, sleep, trance, disease, death?" \*

In the lower levels of culture, evil-minded or persecuting spirits are more numerous than benignant ones, and hence the lowest creeds of man have been commonly stigmatized by the name of demonolatry or devil-worship. It is chiefly in the higher stages of feeling and thought that the souls of great and good men are invested with the attributes of divinity and invoked as the patron deities of the nation. A large part of the Greek and Roman religions in classical times consisted in the worship of great or pious men like Hercules, Cecrops, Romulus, Numa, &c., and even Zeus, the highest god of Olympus and the impersonation of the wide-arching sky, was brought down to the earth and seated at the domestic hearth by the side of the household gods.† A large part of the Greek and Roman rituals at the present day consists in the adoration of saints, the souls of just men made perfect. Savage tribes, too, have made deities of their typical men, though the ideal on which their piety is centred is very different from that of the saints or heroes of a more civilized age. The Thârus, like the rest, have their patron saint, and in some legends he is said to have been the great ancestor by whom the tribe was founded. The name by which he is known is Raksha or (as he is called in some places) Riksheshwar. Both

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\* *Primitive Culture*, vol. I. p. 387: edit. 1871.

† The following extract from Mr. Barker's English edition of *La Cité Antique*, by M. De Coulanges, will illustrate this point. "As fast as a family had personified a physical agent and made it a god, it gave him a place beside the hearth fire, and counting him among its Penates added some words in his honor to the general form of prayer. Hence the expressions found in ancient authors; such as *the gods who sit beside my fire, the Jupiter of my hearth, the Apollo of my fathers*. So in Sophocles, Tekmessa beseeches Ajax by the name of *the Jupiter who sits at his hearth*; and in Euripides, the enchantress Medea swears by Hecate *her goddess mistress whom she adores and who inhabits the sanctuary of her hearth*. Also when Virgil wishes to put before us the very commencement of the Roman religion, he describes Hercules as one of Evander's household gods, sharing adoration with the Penates," p. 71.



## 20 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

names are evidently corruptions of some obsolete Thâru word, which has been toned down to suit the Hindi accent.\* According to the legend in vogue among the Thârus of Kheri, this deified founder was a son of the renowned aboriginal king, Raja Ben, whose fame is still rife in many of the oldest cities of Upper India and Behar as one who held the rank and title of *Chakravarti* or universal emperor in the olden time.† Rikheswar or Raksha was banished, it is said, from his father's court, and ordered with his band of male followers to seek for a new home in the north, from which they were never to return. Setting out on their wanderings, they took as wives any women whom they could steal or capture on the road, and in this way the Thâru tribe was founded. It was not till they had reached the sub-Himalayan forest in which they still dwell, that they decided to rest and settle. The soul of Raksha is still believed to hover among the people of his tribe. Just as in ancient days he led them safely through the wide wilderness into a new and distant settlement, so in the present day he is said to be the guardian and guide of men travelling on a distant journey. No Thâru ever sets out from his village for such a purpose without first propitiating him with gifts, and promising him a sumptuous feast of flesh, milk, and wine on his return. His presence is represented by a mound of mud, with a stone fixed in the middle; and he delights in seeing the head of a live capon dashed against this stone, and to feel its blood trickling down the side. One peculiarity of this god is that he is deaf,—an emblem of his antiquity; and hence vows and prayers are addressed to him in a stentorian tone of voice.

The title *guruâ*, which is generally prefixed to his name, implies that during his residence on earth he was famous as a wizard or medicine-man, and acquired through this means the kingship or leadership of his tribe. His career, then, (supposing that it rests on a substratum of fact,) exemplifies one

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\* *Raksha*, as a Hindi word, is from the root *raksh*, to protect. *Rikheswar* would mean the lord of sages or magicians.

† An account of this king is given in North West Provinces Gazetteer, vol. v, p. 341. His name is remembered in Bijnor, Moradabad, Badaun, Eta, Mirzapur, Bareilly, Champaran, Shâhabad (in Behar.) He figures as Raja Vena in the Mahâ Bhârata and the Vishnu Purana; and the Brahman compilers of these books love to blacken his memory. In Manu's Institutes, (see Book IX, Sloka 66,) he is stigmatized as the first king who allowed a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. According to Manu he died from the effect of his unbridled lusts. According to the Vishnu Puran, he was beaten to death by a gang of saintly men armed with blades of holy grass, all of which had been consecrated by magical words. Benbans is still a title of several aboriginal tribes dwelling on the northern slopes of the Vindhya mountains, within the area of the North-West Provinces.



of the processes to which Mr. Herbert Spencer has ascribed the origin of the institution of kingship among tribes, whose original condition was one of unrestrained equality :—" Until the ghost-theory takes shape, there is no origin for the influence possessed by the medicine-man. But when belief in the spirits of the dead becomes current, the medicine-man professing ability to control them, and inspiring faith in his pretensions, is regarded with a fear which prompts obedience. When we read of the Thlinkets, that the supreme feat of a conjuror's power is to throw one of his liege spirits into the body of any one who refuses to believe in his power, upon which the person possessed is taken with swooning and fits, we may imagine the dread he excites and the sway he consequently gains. . . . . The doctor-wizard among the Fuegians is the most cunning and deceitful of his tribe, and has great influence over his compatriots. Though the Tasmanians were free from the despotism of rulers, they were swayed by the counsels, governed by the arts, or terrified by the fears, of certain wise men or doctors, who could not only mitigate suffering, but inflict it. Among the Dacotahs, the Chief, who leads the party to war, is always one of these medicine-men ; and he is believed to have the power to guide the party to success or save it from defeat. . . . . Among the Amazulu, one chief practises magic on another chief before fighting with him ; and hence the sway acquired by Langalilabalee, who, as Bishop Colenzo says, knows well the composition of *intelezi* (the weather medicine,) and that of the war-medicine, being himself a doctor. . . . . Of Huitzilopochtli, the founder of the Mexican power, we read that he had been a great wizard and a sorcerer ; and every Mexican king on ascending the throne, had to swear to make the sun go his course, to make the clouds pour down rain, to make the rivers run, and all fruits to ripen. . . . . Thothmes III, (one of the old kings of Egypt,) after being deified, was considered the luck-bringing god of the country, and a preserver against the evil influence of wicked spirits and magicians. . . . . Rabbinical writings are never weary of enlarging upon the magical power and knowledge of Solomon. . . . . The Scandinavian ruler, Odin, was a medicine-man, as also were Niort and Frey, his successors." \* To this list it may be added that in China to this day the mandarins profess *ex officio* to have the power of expelling the demons who cause the eclipse, and perform a regular state ceremony for the purpose. † Even in England, up to a comparatively recent period, the touch of a king was believed to

\* *Political Institutions*, by Mr. Herbert Spencer, edit. 1882, pp. 339—340.

† See Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, p. 248, edit. London, 1868.

## 22 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

cure the disease, which is still every where known by the name of "king's evil." The union of the office of ruler with the skill of the magician has been popularized in our own literature in the *Tempest*, where Prospero is not merely "the rightful duke of Milan," but a wizard, who "puts the wild waves in a roar," and has a host of unseen spirits at his command.

Within the last century and more, the Thârus have had no king or chieftain of their own. They have paid tribute to foreigners—either to some petty prince in Naipal, or to some Hindu raja in the plains or (as in one notable instance) to both at once. Yet if local, but independent, traditions are to be trusted, they were a ruling race not many centuries back, in several places of note lying between Bareilly and Gorakhpur. It is not possible that they could have established a dominion of their own at such important places as Gonda or Ayodhya, if they had not been led, organized, and united by kings or chieftains of their own tribe. The legend of "Rakshâ, the magician," shews how this could have been done, and what was the nature of the influence by which he, and those who reigned after him, secured the obedience of the people.

Rakshâ does not appear to have been known outside the Thâru tribe; and as the beliefs and customs peculiar to this people have not had much influence upon the Indian community generally, no niche has been found for him in the vast gallery of wizards, miracle-workers, saints, heroes, and demigods, who make up the popular creed of Hinduism. Had he been, like Krishna, a hero of some widely spread nomad race, such as the Yâdus, or like Râma, a prince of some great warrior horde claiming descent from the Sun, he would no doubt have been transformed into a pious Brahmanical personage, and perhaps raised to the rank of an Incarnation of Vishnu.

The chief element, as we have said, in the religion of Thârus is the fear of evil spirits,—the souls of the dead who harass the bodies of the living. It is to the action of these spirits that fever, ague, cough, dysentery, fainting, headache, madness, bad dreams, and pain of all kinds are ascribed. In fact, the Thârus have no conception of natural disease, and no belief in natural death except what is faintly conceived to be the result of natural decay. Their state, therefore, would be one of utter helplessness, were it not for the reputed skill of medicine-men or sorcerers, who profess to have the power to control the spirits of the air, or to interpret their grievances and wants. In the Thâru language these men are called *bararar*; but the titles of Guru, Guruâ, Bhagat, Nyotya, Ojhait, all of which are borrowed from Hindi, are now in common use; though even of these, the last two are probably of aboriginal



or non-Sanskrit origin. The power of the medicine-man is tremendous. He has a host of liege spirits at his command. Not only can he expel a fiend from the body of the sufferer, but he can produce suffering or death by driving a malignant spirit into the body of his foe. In order to exorcise an evil spirit, he holds in his left hand some ashes of cowdung, or grains of mustard seed, or wild nuts, and after breathing some mystical virtue into them by the utterance of a spell, he causes the patient to eat them or has them attached to his arm. One of the spells uttered at such times, is as follows: It is addressed to Kâlikâ, the Thâru goddess of death, and patroness of the magical art—

*Gur hai gur sair Gur tantra mantra Gur : Lakhai niranjan ; toka sohai phulka bhâr ; Hamka sohai gun vidyâ kai bhâr : Yahân kai vidyâ nahin, Kamru Kâm kai vidyâ. Jaise vidyâ Kamru Kâmkai lâgai, waise vidyâ lâgai mor.*

The language is that of bad and scarcely intelligible Hindi, and might be rendered thus:—

“The Guru (Kâlikâ) is great, she is everything, she is *tantra* (magic by deeds), she is *mantra* (magic by words). She points out the way to relief. “Thou (oh Kâlikâ) deservest to be heaped with flowers. I too deserve to be heaped with secret wisdom,—the wisdom of Kamru Kâm, not the wisdom of this country. Whatever effects the knowledge of Kamru Kâm produces, such effects let my knowledge produce also?”

But the function of the medicine-man is not limited to magic. He administers medicines in a literal sense; and his knowledge of the remedial or other properties of herbs is wonderful. We have shewn already how the commonest Thâru can destroy fish and cause them to float lifeless on the top of the water, by throwing a medicated bait into the pool. The herbs and plants of the sub-Himalayan forest have always had a high reputation in India for their medical properties; for Hanumân, the flying monkey-god, who aided Râma against the demon-king of Lankâ, is said to have flown from Lankâ (Ceylon) to the foot of the Himalaya mountains to procure the medicinal herbs, with which he restored the wounded warriors in Râma's army. The success, with which a Thâru medicine-man administers natural remedies to his patient, cannot but tend to make and sustain his reputation as a wizard; for like his brethren in other parts of the world, he never administers these remedies without the adjunct of magic. Probably he is no better able than his patient to discriminate between the natural and the supernatural elements employed in his own craft. Provided the

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\* Kâmrup is the old name of Assam, the great centre of the worship of Kâli, where she is called Kâlikâ, and sometimes Kâmâkshi, the Eye of Lust. The priestesses in the Assam temple are celebrated for their fanaticism and lewdness. The spell quoted in the text belongs to the class of mantras called Sâbari, all of which are addressed to Kâli to enable the votary to acquire power over the spirits of the air.



## 24 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

evil spirit is expelled, (for this is what is meant by removing a disease,) the reputation of the magician-doctor is increased. If the patient dies, the calamity is ascribed to the will of Kâlikâ, the death goddess, against which the arts of the savage Esculapius are not expected to prevail.

These medicine-men possess such a high reputation for wisdom, that, like the kings described by Mr. Herbert Spencer, they are supposed to have power over the elements, to see things at a distance, and to be able to advise men on all kinds of questions unconnected with disease or demoniacal possession. They receive, in fact, as much deference as is paid by Hindus to the professional Brahman. Nor do I feel any doubt that a large number of the men who are now enrolled as Brahmans, and whom writers have so confidently set down as being of pure Aryan or Indo-European blood, are descended from aboriginal or non-Aryan priests, who crept into the ranks of Brahmanhood at a time when they and their tribe were becoming Hinduized, and whom Brahmans of established reputation found it convenient to recognise as men of their own fraternity.

The office of Guruâ or medicine-man is not hereditary, as that of Brahman has long been amongst Hindus, though the latter was not so originally. But even amongst the Thârus it is not uncommon for the son to inherit the secrets of his father's craft,—the same tendency, as that which has made the status of Brahman hereditary throughout Hindu society. A man, who has a turn for devilry and aspires to become a Guruâ, must go through a severe and rather costly period of probation before the public will accept his demoniacal pretensions. Wine and blood must flow freely on the altar of Kâlikâ. He must learn the mantras or magical words by which she is propitiated, and repeat them daily before her shrine immediately after his morning bath. He must keep odorous herbs smoking as he repeats, and a lighted lamp fed with ghee. Nor is he in a fit state for the goddess to make him one of her own, till he has undergone a long abstinence from food and drink. Her entrance into his body is at last indicated by a violent tremor seizing him, which sometimes throws him on the ground in a fit of muscular contortions.\*

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\* The trembling fit, as an indication of spiritual possession, is by no means confined to India. In America the medicine-man undergoes a similar preparation of fasting, and the entrance of the spirit into his body is indicated by similar signs. (See *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Domenech, vol. II, p. 415ff.)

In China, when a man is at the point of death, a ceremony is performed for attempting to arrest the flight of his soul into space. The soul is transferred into his coat, which is suspended over his bed. When the coat begins to turn or tremble, the soul is believed to have entered. (Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, chap. v, p. 110, edit. 1868). The convulsions



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 25*

The souls of the dead, with whom these wizards have to deal, are capricious beings. Even those whose disposition is friendly will become hostile for a time, if they are not fed when they are hungry : and as it is difficult to predict when their next hungry fit will come on, it is surprising that the Thârus have not hit upon the well-known Hindu expedient, by which the souls of ancestors, female as well as male, are appeased regularly once a year with an offering of cake and water in the ceremony called Pitri-bisarjan, which means " sending the ancestors back " with an offering. Souls of a less friendly turn exact reparation for wrongs which were inflicted on them in the body. But the souls most to be dreaded are those of women who have died in childbirth, and those of men or women who have died a violent death from man or beast, or a painful and sudden death from cholera or small-pox, or who have died in some solitary or polluted place. Such spirits are certain to be malignant. The state of suffering in which they left the body follows them to the life beyond, and provokes them to destroy not only men and women, but cattle and even crops. It is scarcely necessary to add that such notions are not confined to Thârus. Hindus and Mahommedans of all castes and degrees, even the highest and most cultivated, fear the malignity of the spirits of the air, and ascribe their hostility to similar causes. Hindus call them by the name of *bhût* ; Mahommedans by that of *saiyad*, a corruption of *shahid* or " martyr." After years of propitiation, the souls of distinguished martyrs cease to persecute, and become the saints or deities of the place, and pilgrimages are made to their shrines.\* In all parts of Europe there is a deeply rooted conviction, that the ghost of a murdered man or woman haunts the house or place in which the deed was committed. A well-known example of this in our own literature is the ghost of Hamlet's father, who thus discourses of the crime by which his life was destroyed :—

Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand,  
Of crown, of life, of queen at once despatched ;  
Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,  
Unhouseled, disappointed, unaneled.

*Hamlet. Act I. Sc. V.*

The Thâru women are especially credited with the power of the evil eye : and the dread thus excited is probably one of the

and contortions of limb, to which ignorant and excitable persons are exposed at the so-called revivalist meetings in Great Britain, are ascribed by preachers and fanatics to the Holy Ghost having entered the body of the converted sinner.

\* A much fuller and better account of the belief in ghosts, as it exists amongst Hindus and Mahommedans, is given in Mr. Denzil Ibbetson's *Outlines of Punjab Ethnography*, 1883, chap. iv, para. 220—228. An excellent account of *Demon-worship in Northern India* is given by General Cunningham, in *Archeological Survey*, vol. xvii, p. 139—166.



## 26 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

causes which have maintained the isolation of this tribe for so many centuries. The theory of the evil eye is, as I take it, a sequel to the theory of ghosts. Bewitchment by the eye is only a special form of demoniacal possession. The expression of life is centred in the eye. The Macusis of Guiana say that although the body will decay, "the man in our eyes," (that is, the bystander's image, which is taken to be an image of the person's own soul) will not die, but wander abroad. It is believed in Scotland to this day, that if you cannot see the mannikin in the lustreless eye of the sick man, this is a certain sign that his soul or ghost is departing. In Germany the disappearance of the mannikin from the eye of a healthy man is a sign that the person has been bewitched, that is, that his own soul has been superseded by an alien one. Pliny tells us that a magician may be detected from the fact, that there is a double image in one of his eyes, and the image of a horse in the other.\* The evil eye, then, is the soul or ghost which the magician projects from his own eye into the body of another, causing the mother's milk to dry, the babe to pine, the cattle to sicken, the crop to fade, and the man or woman to die:—

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

*Virgil Ecl. III, 103.*

Amongst Tharus and their victims, the power of the evil eye displays itself in two different forms or degrees. "The stronger of the two is known as *lohna*, which commences with a violent wasting away, and results invariably in a rapid death. From the lesser, known as *bej*, recovery may be expected. It displays itself in a low fever accompanied with diarrhoea. The fever and dysentery of the Terai keep the superstition alive. Both men and animals are supposed to be subject to this malignant influence; but a handsome bachelor is considered the most likely victim,—a belief in which we see something of the

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\* Another explanation of the evil eye is given in Mr. Denzil Ibbetson's *Punjab Ethnography*, 1883, para 229. I question, however, whether this explanation is sufficiently wide to cover the wide extent of the belief. The allusion to the Macusis of Guiana is taken from Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, vol. I, p. 389, edit. 1871. The Scotch notion is alluded to in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, edit. 1883 (by James Steven Stallybrass), vol. III, p. 1,181. The German notion, in vol. III, p. 1,074. Pliny's doctrine is mentioned in *Nat. Hist.* 7, 2. The word for the mannikin in the eye in A.-Saxon is *manlica*, in Latin *pupa* or *pupilla*, in Greek *kore*. None of the authors quoted above are responsible for the explanation of the evil eye suggested in the text. I have merely used the facts which they have furnished as the basis of my own suggestion. The explanation quoted by Mr. Denzil Ibbetson is taken from Mr. Channing:—"When a child is born, "an invisible spirit is sometimes born with it; and unless the mother "keeps one breast tied for 40 days while she feeds the child from the other, "in which case the spirit dies of hunger, the child grows up with the "endowment of the evil eye," &c.



love magic of the Thracian witches." \* In the neighbourhood of Tulsipur, (Gonda district), where Thârus are numerous and their Hindu victims many, there is a celebrated Hindu exorciser of the carpenter caste, who professes to have discovered the antidote to this species of witchcraft, and whose method appears to be a kind of mesmerism. Crowds of patients wait upon him to be unbewitched at the appointed dates.

A woman gifted with the evil eye and credited with having slain many victims becomes, after her death, a *blukchm*, that is, a malignant demoness, commanding the whole troop of souls whom she conquered by her enchantments.

The goddess, who presides over life and death, and whom the Thârus believe to be the supreme power in the universe, is Kâlikâ,—one of the numerous forms of Devi, Durgâ or Kâli, at whose name all India trembles, especially the low castes and the casteless tribes, amongst whom she originally sprung. † Medicine-men look to Kâlikâ as the special patroness of their art. To the fair sex she is the goddess of parturition, and her aid is especially invoked by women who have had no children. All classes combine to give her a periodical ovation, accompanied with much dancing, banqueting, and drinking of wine at about the middle of October. Thârus also takes part in the huge animal sacrifice performed at her celebrated altar in Devi Patan (Gonda district.) Such is her thirst for blood, that at this time 20 buffaloes, 250 goats, and 250 pigs, are slaughtered daily for ten days continuously. The sacrifice is vicarious, the blood of buffaloes, &c., being intended as a substitute for that of human victims. This loathsome festival is thronged with visitors from the plains of India, and from the hills of Naipal, Sikkim and Bhootan.

It may be remarked in passing that the Kâlikâ, whom Thârus delight to honor, was borrowed from Assam, or at least that the Thâru and Assam goddesses sprang from some common indigenous source. There are two facts which point irresistibly to this conclusion. In the first place, the spell of the medicine-man, which we have translated in a previous page, claims to have come from Kâmrûp, the old name for

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\* Oudh Gazetteer, vol. III, p. 503, article by Mr. Benett.

† In Oudh Gazetteer, vol. III, p. 504, Mr. Benett, speaking of Kâlika, gives her the prefix *Sonmat*, but without explaining what *Sonmat* means. If I may be allowed to spell it as *Somwat*, it signifies "crescent-headed;" and Kâlikâ is so called out of compliment to Shiva, whose wife she is, and who is described as wearing a crescent on his head. This explanation is confirmed by the fact that Chandika Devi, a goddess of the Bhar tribe, who resembles the Kâlikâ of the Thârus, means also the "crescent-headed." For Chandra, like Soma, is one of the names of the moon. In some parts the Thârus call their goddess by the name of Mari, the patron goddess of Kanjars.

## 28 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

Assam, where there is a celebrated temple in honour of the goddess named. In his account of the *Kâlikâ Purâna* (the sacred book devoted to the praises of this deity), Professor Wilson remarks—"It is a singular, but uninvestigated circumstance, that Assam, or at least the North-East of Bengal, seems to have been in a great degree the source from which the Tantrika and Sâkta corruptions of the Vedas and Puranas proceeded." In Assam the goddess is mostly worshipped under the name of *Kâlikâ* or *Kâmâkshi*, the Eye of Lust: in Bengal proper, under that of *Kâli* or *Durgâ*, the Unapproachable. Secondly, the *Thârus*, as we have just shewn, keep the annual festival of *Kâli* or *Durgâ*, which falls due at about the middle of October; but they do not keep that of the *Dashara* which occurs at the same season. Now the latter is the festival observed by the natives of Upper India, the near neighbours of *Thârus*; but the former is that kept by Bengalis, from whom they (the *Thârus*) are separated by a vast intervening space. The two festivals, though they occur in the same month, are as distinct as possible: for the *Dashara* is in honour of the hero *Râma*, the illustrious incarnation of *Vishnu*; while the *Durgâ Pujâ*, as the name implies, is in honour of *Durgâ*, *Kâli*, or *Kâlikâ*, the wife of *Shiva*. The coincidence of date in the observance of those festivals is merely accidental and can be easily explained by the fact that in Hindustan, no less than in Bengal, the monsoon rains have ceased and the summer crop has been harvested by the middle of October, and hence this season is the most suitable that could be selected for observing a great periodical feast.\* It certainly takes one by surprise to find that the *Durgâ Pujâ* (the anniversary of the worship of *Kali*), which was believed to be confined to the people of Assam and Bengal, is observed in Upper India by an isolated tribe like the *Thârus*, and by no other tribe or caste.

Another deity revered by *Thârus*, and like *Kâlikâ* of indigenous or non-Aryan origin, is her consort *Shiva*,—known chiefly amongst *Thârus* by the name of *Bhairava*, the Terrible, or *Thakur*, the Lord, and amongst Hindus by that of *Mahadev*, the great god. He like his spouse is a god of destruction, and thirsts for blood. But he is chiefly worshipped by *Thârus* as the author of reproduction, of which a stone lingam, as amongst Hindus, is sometimes made the symbol. It is more usual, however, for a *Thâru* to erect a mud mound in front of his house, and fix an upright pole in its centre, to represent the presence of this phallic divinity. The use of a pole was equally common

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\* So, too, in ancient Egypt, the period when the inundation of the Nile subsided, and when the annual fruit and harvest were gathered, was the time of a great national festival. The Nile is to Egypt what the monsoon rains are to India.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 29*

among the ancient inhabitants of Italy, who used it to express the phallic character of their god Priapus. \*

There are two other deities of some importance, to whom Thârus address their vows. One is Madadeo, the god of intoxicating liquor, especially of the rice-wine made by themselves; the other is Dharchandi, the patroness of cattle, though her name would imply that she was at first intended to impersonate the Earth. Her shrine, like those of the other deities already named, is a mound of clay. The mound dedicated to Dharchandi is studded with short wooden crosses, on which rice, pulse, and other produce of the fields are offered, and always on plates of leaf. Her shrine is so placed that all the cattle of the village, together with the swine, sheep, and goats, pass it on going out to graze, and repass it on their return. When the cattle sicken or die, larger and more valuable offerings are made. Neither of these deities is known or worshipped by other natives of Upper India. †

There are three animals which Tharus hold sacred above all others, and which they would deem it sacrilege to destroy,—the cow, the serpent, and the monkey. The first is venerated for its docility and usefulness; the second for its subtle and mysterious motion and for its supposed connection with the pregnancy of women; the third for its likeness to man. Among the savage and castless tribes these animals are revered without any specific rites or illustrative fables. But as soon as Brahmans decided to admit them within the pale of Hinduism, snake-worship was developed into the great annual festival of Nag-panchami, and into the myth of the world-snake, Ananta, on whose endless coils Vishnu reposes with his wife Lakshmi at the bottom of the milky sea. Monkey-worship was developed into the legend of the great flying ape, Hanumân, who led an army of monkeys against the demon-king of Lankâ in aid of the hero or demi-god, Râma. Cow-worship fell under the special patronage of Brahmans, and the bull became the beast-vehicle of Shiva. These animals are foreign to the early Hindu scriptures, and there can be no doubt as to the source from which their worship was borrowed. Hinduism has associated them (as we have just shewn) with the two most popular gods of her

\* See Horace's description of Priapus in Satires, I, 8, 5: *Obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus.*

† Dharchandi is derived from *Dhara* or *dhari* the earth, and *Chandi*, ruler or queen. *Mada deo* simply means "the God of drunkenness." Mr. Benett, in *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. III, p. 504, makes no mention of the worship of Madadeo, nor of that of Bhairava. But he makes mention of a Thâru god,—Garur Bir,—whom I have thought proper to omit. I learn from local enquiry, that Garur Bir is a god of the Naipalese and not one whom Thârus regularly worship. Thârus, however, will throw an offering on his shrine as they pass, while they are travelling in the Naipal hills.



### 30 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

triad, but it was the indigenous tribes, and not the earliest teachers of Hinduism, who demanded their incorporation. \*

In about the middle of March, after the winter crop has been cut, and the harvest has been stacked for the year, the Tharus hold their great annual festival of fire,—an observance resembling in many respects the Holi of the Hindus, and known to the Tharus themselves by this and no other name. A mound of earth is prepared, in the centre of which a pole is fixed in a vertical position,—the phallic emblem of reproductive energy. This is the season, too, at which the youthful bachelor brings away his affianced bride into his own village and home.† Offerings of turmeric, hemp, dhatura, and other pungent or odorous herbs are placed upon the pole and mound by the assembled people. Straw and stubble and sticks are then piled around the pole; and the oldest or most respected man in the assembly puts fire to it. After the bonfire has burnt itself out, they amuse themselves with dancing, playing the drum and cymbals, pelting each other with coloured powder, singing amorous songs, and cracking lascivious jokes. The evening is spent in feasting on roast meats and rice and drinking wine. The only difference between this and the Hindu form of the Holi is, that the same gods or demigods are not honored in the one as in the other, and that the Tharus have retained the old phallic emblem, which amongst Hindus has entirely gone out of use. There can be scarcely any doubt that the festival is of a purely indigenous or non-Aryan origin, and that it found its way into the Hindu system at a time, when the fusion of the two races, the Indigenous and the Aryan, was complete, and when the priests and doctors of the Hindu religion were too much in sympathy with the aboriginal rites and customs by which they were surrounded to desire to discard a festival so ancient and popular. In proof of the indigenous origin of this observance it should be noticed, that the Holi is preeminently the festival of the lower castes, (who make up about 80 per cent of the total population), though it is now kept by the higher ones

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\* Even so late as the Apastamba Sutras, it seems that beef was eaten by Brahmans. For in II, 6, 26, it is said that beef offered to the souls of ancestors will satisfy them for a year, (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. II, p. 141.)

† In the account given above, of the marriage customs of the Tharus, I find that I omitted to mention one important fact as helping to shew that the now obsolete custom of marriage by capture is the type on which their marriage ceremonies are based. I have learned from two different quarters (Bahraich and Bhinga), that when the bridegroom's party of males first arrives at the bride's house for the purpose of taking her away, every attempt is made by the friends of the bride to prevent them from entering the house, and that there is some show of resistance on both sides.



also,\*—that its very name is aboriginal, being underivable from any known, Sanskrit source,—and that it is observed to this day by certain tribes in Central India, who are still outside the pale of Hinduism, and in honor of a hero or demi-god who is totally unknown to Hindus in any part of India. † The Brahman priests and legend-mongers, who have made the Hindu calendar what it

\* To the reader who is not intimately acquainted with the history of Hindu rites, it may be pointed out that there are four great annual festivals recognized by Hinduism, corresponding to the forefold mythical division of castes into Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras. (1) Rakshabandhan : held on about 15th August, sacred to Brahmans. On this day they renew their sacred thread for the incoming year, and send snips of it about to their various constituents, receiving presents in return. (2) Dashara : held about 15th October, sacred to Kshatriyas, or as they are now called Chattris. The deeds and adventures of Râma, the great Chattri hero, are celebrated at this season in mimic show. All castes, low as well as high, take part in the amusements. (3) Diwâli : held about 5th November, sacred to Vaisyas, the caste of merchants. On this occasion they make up their account books for the year, white wash their houses, light new fires on the hearth, illuminate the walls with oil burners, and worship their hoard and all the valuables that they possess, using them as the emblem or material sign of the presence of Lakshmi, the goddess of good luck. Peasants have learnt to imitate the illuminations of Vaisyas, by lighting a number of little bonfires in their fields. Thieves think that if they can make a lucky hit on this day, it will give them good luck for the rest of the year. (4) Holi : held on about 15th March, especially sacred to Sûdras or low castes. The Hindus light large bonfires, but without placing a pole or phallus in the middle, yet keeping up the old phallic significance of the event, by singing indecent songs and making lascivious jokes at each other. They honor on this day Prahlâd, the Brahman-loving son of a Brahman-hating fiend. The Tharus on the other hand honor their tutelar gods,—Kâlikâ, Bhairava, and Mada Deo. They also honor a minor deity of their own called Pâlhu, who is probably the original of the Brahmanized Prahlâd honored by Hindus. The word *Prahlâd* signifies "joy," and it is very likely that the Brahmans coined this word out of the aboriginal Pâlhu to explain the general rejoicing with which the Holi is celebrated.

† I learnt this fact from Mr. Scanlan, Private Secretary of the Raja of Bhinga, (Baraich district, Oudh) and formerly of the Survey of India, (Topl. Dept.) who, in one of his reports, wrote an interesting account of the observance of the Holi, by un-Brahmanized tribes living in the Satpûra range.

The following extracts are taken from a condensed version of Mr. Scanlan's paper, published in Surveyor-General's Report for 1868-69, p. 46. Speaking of the Gonds and Korkus of the Central Provinces, he says that "during the Holi festival, the women throw off all reserve, &c. . . . Both men and women assemble around the village fires and enjoy their time by discoursing music. . . . The god called Khandar Rao plays a prominent part in the Holi festival. He is to be seen in almost every village represented by a *long red-coloured pole*, which is driven vertically into the ground," &c. The red-coloured pole shews the phallic significance of the Holi, and is an exact translation of Horace's *ruber palus*, (see Satires, I, 8. 5). The priests employed on the occasion are not Brahmans, but a class of aboriginal priests called Bhumkas.



### 32 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

is, have overlaid the Holi with a mass of legends about the demon Harinakshyapa and his pious son Prahlâd, and about another demon who was slain by Krishna, so that its real origin and significance do not now appear on the surface. But the fire-festival of spring tide, by whatever name we may call it, has been known and observed in many distant lands, of whose existence the Hindu doctors were not aware. The public lighting of large bonfires,—the element common to all forms of this festival in India and elsewhere,—and the general rejoicing and feast-making that mark the anniversary, shew that its original meaning was that of a New Year's festival, associated with the worship of the sun. In ancient times the opening of the new year was considered in many countries to date from the vernal equinox, and not, as now, from the winter solstice.\* From that date the days begin to be longer than the nights and the sun has gained at last, without any fear of a reverse, his hard fought battle over the rival powers of cold and darkness. The mode of signalizing this victory was by lighting huge bonfires or by performing the rite of the New Fire. "The Easter bonfires" says Mr. Tylor, "with which the North German hills used to be seen ablaze mile after mile are not altogether given up by local custom. On Easter morning in Saxony and Brandenburg, the peasants still climb the hill tops before dawn, to see the rising sun give his three joyful leaps." In Asia Minor, as an eye witness relates, "we were suddenly awakened (on Easter morning) by the blaze and crackling of a large bonfire, with singing and shouting, in honour of the resurrection."† The heathen rite of the New Fire, which symbolized the renewed energy of the physical sun, has been incorporated into the Christian ritual of Easter, which celebrates the rising again of the Sun of Righteousness. In the Western Church all the old fires of the "perpetual lamps" are extinguished, and a new holy fire is struck from a flint

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\* Until the time of Julius Casar, who completely remodelled the calendar, March was the first month of the year. This is plain from the names, September, October, November, December, and from Quintilis and Sextilis the old names for July and August. The Jewish Nisan or Abid coincided with March, and to the Israelites this was ordained by Moses to be "the first month of the year," in commemoration of the Passover; see *Exodus*, XII, 2.

† Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, edit, 1877 p. 92. The quotation is from Chandler's *French in Asia Minor*. The extract quoted from Mr. Tylor occurs in *Primitive Culture*, vol. II, p, 269. As regards the sun's three leaps, witnessed, or believed to be witnessed, by the German peasant, we might compare the remarks by Sir Thomas Brown in *Vulgar Errors* :—"We shall not, I hope, disparage the resurrection of our Redeemer, if we say that the sun doth not dance in Easter day."



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.* 33

by the priest, from which the lamps are relighted for the year. In the east a miraculous fire is said to descend from heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, at the bidding of the patriarch of Jerusalem. "Among the Persians," says Gebelin, "the new year is looked upon as the renewal of all things, and is noted for the triumph of the sun of nature, as Easter is with Christians for that of the Sun of Justice."\* Among the Natchez of the New World, March was the first of the 13 moons or months into which the year was divided; and the opening of the new year was signalized by dancing round an immense bonfire, on which cauldrons of meat were placed for the intended banquet. The "Sun dance" is still observed at springtide by most of the native tribes of North America.† In India to this day the fire-festival of the Holi, which falls in the same month as the Christian Easter and the Jewish Nisan, is considered by the great mass of the people to mark the first day of the year.

This finishes what we had to say about the industries, village communities, marriage customs, and religious observances of the Thârus. We must now, in conclusion, attempt to recapitulate such evidence as we have been able to collect respecting their origin, migrations, and recent history.

The only account of their origin that has been given by English writers, but not by any means universally given by Thârus themselves, is that their first ancestors were Rajputs of Chittore, but were banished thence into their present sub-Himalayan home after the sack of their native city by the Mahommedans. Some Thârus know nothing about this tradition, and those who do are not able to tell you whether it was the sack by Alaudin (A. D. 1303), or that by Bahâdur Shah (A. D. 1533), or that by Akbar, (A. D. 1567). The story is absurd on the face of it. Not the slightest allusion to Thârus, in connection with any of these events, is made by the Mahomedan historians. The fiction of having come from Rajputâna was invented by some of the clans, merely to raise themselves in their own and their neighbours' estimation. There is scarcely any hunting tribe or caste in Upper India which has not set up a similar claim.

The other tradition current amongst the Thârus themselves respecting the origin of their tribe is that which centres round

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\* Quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, p. 90. In Sweeden, where the spring tide opens a month or two later, the fire-festival is held early in May.

† *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, vol. II, pp. 214-15. A recent traveller in Amorgos, one of the Greek Cyclades, observes that the firing off of guns was one of the easter ceremonies. See Macmillan's Magazine, July 1884.

### 34 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

the name of Rakshâ, the magician, whose story has been already told. This is *prima facie* much the more probable of the two; and it is confirmed incidentally by a large number of local traditions scattered about in various places, where Thârus themselves are no longer to be found, but where the memory of their former dominion is still alive. According to these legends the line of country formerly inhabited by the tribe was about a hundred miles further south than where we now find them. They are said to have been once the ruling race at Maraûri in the Bareilly district, at Gonda in northern Oudh, at Ayodhyâ after the expulsion of the Solar dynasty, in several places of the Gorakpur district which are now marked with mounds and ruined forts, at Amorha, Basti, Maghar, and other old places of note in the Basti district.\* Each of these legends is independent of every other; and their unborrowed consistency constitutes rather a strong cumulative argument for their truth. Local kingdoms of this kind could not have been founded without the leadership of local chieftains; and Raksha, the magician, may be taken as the type of what such leaders were.

The legend of his having been expelled from Bareilly by Râja Ben and ordered to go northwards may be taken to represent the gradual migrations of the tribe farther and farther towards the northern or sub-Himalayan forest, as fast as the primeval forest disappeared from the south: and this migration is still going on. The area of cultivation keeps constantly extending northwards; while the tribe is constantly retreating with the retreating forest closer and closer to the hills of Naipal. There is abundant evidence to shew that the more southerly tract in which the Thârus formerly dwelt was as thickly covered with forest a few centuries ago, as that in which they now live. Only 330 years ago, the western part of the Kheri district, together with the adjoining portion of Shahjahanpur, was called Barwâr Anjâna, or "the unknown Barwar land," having been so named by contemporary historians on account of the wild nature of the country. The whole of the northern half

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\* For the Thâru settlement at Maraûri in the Bareilly district, see North West Gazetteer 1879, vol. V, p. 645. For that at Gonda, see Oudh Gazetteer 1877, vol. I, p. 111. For that of Ayudhya, see North West Gazetteer, 1881, vol. VI. 429—431; and Oudh Gazetteer, vol. I, Introd. p. xxxiv. For the traces of Thâru occupation in Gorakhpur and Basti, see North West Gazetteer, vol. VI. pp. 431, 718, 720, 737, 751, 772, 776. The Hardoi district, Oudh, is full of legends about aboriginal kingdoms founded by Thathêras; (see Oudh Gazetteer, vol. II, under the name *Kachandan*, *Kalyamal* and *Mallânwan*). As it is quite impossible that the brazier caste (Thathera) could even have existed in such times, much less founded kingdoms, I conclude that *Thathera* is a modern corruption of *Thâru*.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 35*

of the Hardoi district, Oudh, was a jungle in the time of Akbar (A. D. 1556), impenetrable to the imperial troops. The great Duab between the Goomti and the Sarju, extending further south than Fyzabad, was called Banaudha, or the Oudh forest. Another large tract east of the Sarju was called Gandharp Ban, or the forest of Gandharp. In 1810 A. D., when the troops of the late East India Company were first quartered at Gorakhpur, there was no open space for them to encamp on. "It required a very odious exertion of power," writes Buchanan, a contemporary witness, "to clear so much ground as was sufficient to form a parade, and a kind of breathing hole for the European officers of Government." The first Collector of Gorakhpur pitched his tent on the margin of a lake, whose edges had been cleared of jungle; and a cordon of elephants was drawn round his camp to keep off the tigers.\* *Bankata*, *Banphur*, *Banchati*, are not uncommon names in Upper India for villages which now stand in a vast treeless plain; and each of these words signifies "forest clearance." The whole line of country, then, from Bareilly to Gorakhpur, was covered with forest up to a comparatively recent period. As such, it must have possessed every characteristic that a hunting and nomad tribe like the Thârus could have desired; and this is well in keeping with the Thâru traditions, to which we have referred.

The migration of the Thârus towards the Naipal hills from the sub-division now known as Balrampur, in the Gonda district, commenced only about a century ago. The country was then much more thickly wooded than it now is. In this tract they had established, from about the 15th century A. D., a circle of eight well-defined settlements, governed by hereditary headmen, called in the Thâru language *barwaik*, separated from each other by as many hill streams, and defended

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\* The Kheri forest (Barwar Anjâna) is alluded to in Oudh Gazetteer, vol. II, 1877, p. 242.

For the Hardoi forest, see also vol. II, p. 56. For the forests of Gandharp and Avadh, see vol. I, p. 108. The quotation from Buchanan's *Eastern India*, and the allusions to the forests of Gorakhpur, occur in *North-Western Gazetteer*, vol. VI, p. 498. In the *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. I, Introd., p. xxxiv, Mr. Benett writes as follows: "It was the Thârus, if local tradition is to be trusted, who first descended from the hills, and in the 8th or 9th century A. D., cleared the jungles as far as Ayudhya," &c. I have not met with any traditions as to Thârus having descended from the hills; and the concurrent testimony of the traditions quoted in the text is against this. Moreover, the Thârus are not addicted to the practice of clearing jungles except for the temporary purpose of clearing a patch here and there for cultivation. In his very interesting remarks under the name *Tulsipur*, in vol. III of this Gazetteer, Mr. Benett shews how Thârus are perpetually moving northwards as fast as the forest recedes.

### 36 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

against aggression by strong mud forts.\* Here under their own laws and leaders, they preserved for some 300 years a semi-independence by paying a double tribute, the one to the southern prince, the Raja of Balrampur, and the other to a northern, the Raja of Dang, in Naipal. But about a hundred years ago, when the Raja of Balrampur died, the rightful heir, having been ousted by his cousin, took refuge with the Raja of Dang and solicited his aid for the recovery of his kingdom. The Thârus, being forced to join first one claimant, and then another, were crushed, as it were, between two millstones, and their old settlements fell into ruin and were deserted. Since the advent of British rule, the forest has been disappearing with surprising rapidity, and the Thârus have retired closer than ever to the foot of the Naipal mountains.† "There can be little doubt," writes Mr. Benett, "that this interesting and peculiar race will soon disappear from this side of the hills. Their number in Gonda has already been reduced to barely 3,000, and it yearly decreases through migration to Naipal."‡ Some few, however, have remained in the open plains, and small communities or groups may at this day be found in the Fyzabad, Moradabad, Cawnpore, and Badaun districts, where their chief, if not only, means of living is by the tillage of the soil. Some few have migrated still further south, into the less cultivated tracts of Banda and Allahabad, where the still surviving forest affords them better scope for retaining the customs of their ancestors.

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\* In Elliot's Supplemental Glossary, vol. I, p. 58, edited by Mr. Beames, 1869, the editor says that "Barwaik is the name of a tribe of Thârus." This is not borne out by what other writers have said. *Barwaik* is simply the Thâru synonym for the Hindi *Chaudhari*. Perhaps, however, some families have kept up the name of Barwaik as an hereditary title; and such families would naturally constitute a distinct clan. I have since learnt that there is a clan in the Kumaon tract, which calls itself Barwaik; but this is the only instance.

† The following extract from the North-West Gazetteer, vol. VI, p. 472 (1881), will serve to illustrate the rapidity with which the forests disappear under English rule:—"Institutes of Akbar, (1596) return Bhairâpâra as a parganah of the Gorakhpur division, with a state rental of Rs. 3,897. How greatly cultivation has since then extended is shown by the revenues imposed in modern British settlements. These were at the first Rs. 15,430; at the second Rs. 14,721; at the third Rs. 14,750; at the fourth Rs. 17,253; and at the fifth Rs. 40,904." The sixth and present Government demand amounts to Rs. 58,477: (see page 470).

‡ A fuller history of the Thâru settlements in Gonda, from which my own account has been condensed, can be seen in Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, pp. 504-6, by Mr. Benett. It is still popularly believed by the Hindus of Balrampur and Utranla, that there are vast treasures lying concealed in the earth at the sites of the old Thâru forts, and that the Thârus come down occasionally by night to remove them.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 37*

Owing to the intermarriages which have taken place within the last two or three centuries, between Thâru men and Naipalese women, the physiognomy of the Thâru tribe has acquired in some instances a slightly Mongolian cast, which shews itself chiefly, but not to a striking degree, in slanting eyes and high cheek bones. In other respects their physical characteristics are of the strictly Indian type. They have long wavy hair, a dark, almost a black, complexion, and as much hair on the face and body as is usual with other natives of India. In stature, build, and gait, they are distinctly Indian and not Mongolian; nor have they any traditions whatever which connect their origin with Naipal. A century's intercourse with the people of the hills is more than sufficient to account for the slight Mongolian cast, which some members of the tribe have acquired. A much shorter period has been sufficient to produce a similar mixture of type in British Burma, where Indian labourers imported from the Madras and Bengal coasts have formed alliances with Burmese women, whose semi-Malay features and yellow complexion indicate a close ethnical affinity with the natives of Naipal. An Indo-Burmese child, if he were transported suddenly from Rangoon to the Terai forests of Upper India, could be easily taken for a Thâru child in every thing, except his language and dress.

The question as to whether the tribe is of Aryan or non-Aryan blood has been raised respecting Thârus, as it has been about every other tribe or caste in India. The discussion has been vague and unprofitable, and the differences in the opinions expressed shew how loosely, and on what very imperfect data, such distinctions of race have been drawn. A writer in the Oudh Gazetteer considers them a cross between "a Chattri horde" and the Naipalese; that is, between Aryans so called and Mongolians. Yet in another place he couples them with Bhars, Doms, and other backward tribes as "aboriginal," that is, as indigenous to India, and therefore, neither Aryan nor Mongolian. A writer in the North-West Provinces Gazetteer accepts the Tharus' own assertion that they are Chattris, that is, Aryans: yet the same writer afterwards speaks of them as "Mongol-faced," which, as he gives no explanation of this fact, would leave the reader to infer that they are Mongolian rather than Aryan.\* The opinion held by myself

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\* Oudh Gazetteer, vol. III, p. 502. Yet in Oudh Gazetteer, vol. I, Intro., p. XXXV, the same author writing of the Bhars, says: "Their short stature and black skins, their features and their habits, their passion for the chase and inability to settle down as tenants, stamp them as *ethnical brothers* of the Doms, the Thârus, the Kewats, and the Gonds, and the numerous other *aboriginal* tribes." There seems to be a confusion here between culture and physical type. As regards the account given in North-West Gazetteer, compare vol. VI, p. 430, with p. 474.

### 38 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

is that among the present inhabitants of India no clear distinction between Aryan and non-Aryan can be drawn,—that the Aryan blood, such as it was, has for some 30 centuries past been absorbed into the Indigenous,—and that in point of race no essential difference has been left between the highest castes of Hindus and the lowest of the casteless tribes.\* The difference in point of culture is of course immense. But if the ancestor of Shakspeare was a savage, (and this he certainly was,) there is a much longer distance between Shakspeare and his ancestor than there is between a Brahman and a Thâru. Our position is, that the Indian race from the highest caste to the lowest savage is ethnically one, but socially diverse,—that the graduated scale of castes, into which the Brahmanized portion of the race has been divided, represents not variations of blood, but gradations of culture,—and that the several stages of culture, to which the corresponding castes are allied, have succeeded each other in the same order and by the same law of progress in this country, that they have done in every other part of the world.†

It is not easy to ascertain the extent to which the language now spoken by Thârus differs from the rustic Hindi, or whether they still retain a distinct language of their own. At Khairigarh, in the Kheri district, I was informed by two Thâru boys, whose parents had settled in the village and who attended the primary school, that their parents were acquainted with a language which no other resident in the village could understand. If this is to be trusted, it implies that the more isolated clans still have a separate language of their

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\* It is not denied that in isolated tracts, (such as Rajputana for example,) where exceptional circumstances have prevented the fusion of races, there is still a marked difference in colour and expression between a Rajput and a Bhil or a Bauriya. Nor is it denied that in Upper India there are cases of survival, in which the fair skin and handsome features of the original Aryan come prominently to the front in individual Brahmans or Chattris. But cases of survival appear sometimes in Chamars and Sweepers also, and such cases are not very uncommon. What is meant is, that in Upper-India and Bengal, the two stocks, the Aryan and the Indigenous, have become so completely amalgamated, that it is absurd to talk of one caste being Aryan and another non-Aryan. The Aryan blood, except in the cases of survival noted, has been absorbed and lost in the Indigenous, the less yielding to the greater.

† The reader need scarcely be reminded that the above is not intended to be a complete explanation of the origin of Hindu caste, but only so much of it as bears on the question of race. I am of course aware that the Aryan stranger helped materially to the formation of caste by impressing a new element from above on the indigenous tribes below. But I hold that the Aryan blood became itself absorbed into the Indigenous before the process was completed, and that no difference between Aryan and non-Aryan now remains.



own ; and this is not inconsistent with the fact that those who have settled in the open plains speak a bad Hindi. That they once spoke a purely aboriginal tongue, possessing no affinity with Hindi or Sanscrit, is clear from the names which they still give to their children, and from the strange words, such as *barwaik* (headman), *bararar* (sorcerer), which continually crop up in their present speech. This is confirmed, too, by Mr. Beames, who writing of the Thârus in northern Gorakhpur and Champâran says, "that those who occupy villages in the plains now speak Hindi, but that those of the tribe, who still remain in the submontane districts of Naipal, continue to use their own original speech, which, like Magar and Gurung, is Thibetan at its base."\* The Hindi language, like the Brahmanical creed which kept pace with its extension, has now overspread the whole area of the plains of Hindustan. But it still contains a large stock of words which can be traced to no Sanskrit source ; and the names by which many of the towns and villages are called betray the non-Aryan origin of the bulk of the population.

I have abandoned as hopeless the attempt to describe the details of the clan system prevailing in this tribe. It is found that in Gorakhpur the Thârus divide themselves into two great sections, the Pachhami or western, and the Purabi or eastern. But what or where the dividing line is to be found, has not been stated. The westerns, it is said, call themselves Chattris, and refuse to eat with the easterns. The easterns again divide themselves into the Upper Eastern (Barkha) and the Lower (Chutka). Among each of these again there is a large number of smaller clans, some of the names of which are given in the note.† A different account of the divisions and sub-divisions of the tribe is given in the Gonda district. Here the tribe divides itself into two great sections, the Dangaria, and the Katharia, the first of which indulges in pork, and the second (according to their own statement) abstains from it. Other witnesses, however, deny that the Katharias abstain from swine's flesh. As to the smaller sub-divisions into which both sections are divided, there are such diversities of statement, that it is impossible to get at the truth.‡ The Thârus themselves do not seem

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\* Elliot's Supplemental Glossary, vol. I, p. 58, under name *Barwaik*. Edited by Mr. J. Beames. London, 1869.

† North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, vol. VI, p. 358. The names given are Dagwaria, Nawalpuria, Marchaha, Kupaliha, Jogithâru, Kosithâru, Kawasia, and Garhwaria.

‡ The two-fold division into Dangaria and Katharia is given by Mr. Benett, in Oudh Gazetteer, vol. III, p. 502, and is confirmed by a witness who was consulted in the Gonda district, who does not however admit that this Katharias abstain from pork. The names of sub-sections given in the



## 40 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

to know what their clan system is. The probability is that no clearly defined system exists, and that clans are constantly changing their landmarks. As we remarked at the outset of this essay, dissociability, and not union, is the rule among savage nations. This dissociable temper has, in India at least, survived the institution of caste, and frustrated one of the chief benefits which the caste system might have produced. If the caste theory had been consistently carried out, that is, if all men practising the same hereditary craft or function, after which the caste was named and formed, had agreed to consider each other as brethren and to act unreservedly up to this profession, we should not have witnessed, as we now do, the breaking up of every caste into an endless number of clans and sub-clans; and we should probably have heard little or nothing about the Indian castes being "fissiparous," like those animals and plants in the natural world, which are continually dividing themselves into parts, each part acquiring a separate individual life, and dividing itself in its turn into other parts, each of which acquires an independent life like its predecessors. When we find, for example, that in a single district (Muttra) there are more than 25 sub-classes of the Gujar caste, and in the same district more than 22 sub-classes of Jâts, and in the Shâhjânpur district more than 43 sub-classes of Ahirs, we can appreciate the extent to which the savage instinct of disunion has nullified the main benefit, which the caste system could have produced.\*

The only Indian caste with whom the Thârus can be said to live on terms of intimacy are the Banjâras,—a caste of migratory merchants and cattle-grazers, who sometimes advance them money for their rice sowings, and are repaid in unhusked rice at rates much below the market-price. The Banjâras whom I have seen in the Bahraich district, Oudh, have the same Mongolian cast of feature that Thârus have, and, probably, from

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Gonda district by another witness, are Purbiya, Dangaria, Kathariya, Amarâ, Tharjogi, Khunua, Dingar. The names given by a witness in the Kheri district, are Garhwâlia, Pachihan, Malwaria Dangaria, Suhn-niya, Raji.

In the Gorakhpur district, besides the list quoted already from the North-West Gazetteer, another list was furnished, which consists of 13 different names, *viz.*, Pachmahâ, Barkha, Chutka, Kathariya, Dangaria, Khon, Khusia, Marchahâ, Kachlâ, Kânphuta, Sarkohar, Nawâlpariha, and one more. The Thârus of Kumaon gave another list, which contains only five names, *viz.*, Thâr, Batta, Mahtam. Râwat, and Barwaik. The Thârus of Bhinga, on the edge of the Bahraich district, gave another list consisting of seven names, *viz.*, Dangaria, Kathariya, Khond, Dakhar, Râji, Musahar, Bôt. In another part of the Bahraich district, the names given out by the Thâru consulted were:—Kusmaha, Kathariya, Bantar, Dakhar, Dundwar, Kachlâ, Rotâr, Jogi. Here, then, we have two lists from Gorakhpur, one from Gonda, one from Kheri, one from Kumaon, and two from Bahraich,—all differing considerably from each other.

\* North-West Provinces Gazetteer, vol. VIII, 78, 79, and vol. IX 82.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 41*

the same cause,—intermarriage with women of the Naipal hills. Both tribes are equally noted for their skill in tracking their way through the pathless jungle, and for their love of forest seclusion. But Thârus are entirely free from the thievish and robbing propensities for which the Banjâras are notorious. Their honesty is vouched for by a hundred stories. It is said, that when a family flies into the hills, they will always leave any arrears of rent that may be due tied up in a rag to the lintel of their deserted house.\*

They are less advanced, it is true, in the arts, industries, and inventions with which their Hindu kinsfolk have long been familiar, and which have made India famous. But in the qualities which constitute the better side of humanity, in truthfulness, bravery, and simplicity, they present, for the most part, a pleasing contrast. Such at least is the character of the Thâru, so long as he remains in the safe seclusion of his solitary wilds, and before he has become a drudge and labourer, as some are now becoming, in the open plains. We may say of them, what Washington Irving has said of the native tribes in his own continent:—"Such were the Indians, whilst in the pride and energy of their primitive notions. They resemble those wild plants, which thrive best in the shades of the forest, but shrink from the hand of cultivation and perish beneath the influence of the sun." †

### BOGSHAS.

Few words will suffice for a description of this tribe. As has been shewn already, they make up only 5,664 souls; and from the account published by a close observer, nearly 20 years ago, it does not seem likely that they will increase. Ethnically they are one with the Thârus; and might have been classed as a Thâru clan, had they not managed somehow to establish a title to be considered a separate tribe.

The tribe in 1865 was divided into three main sections,—the Pûrabi (eastern) which lies east of the Ramganga, and as far west as the Gola or Sârda where the Thârus begin,—the Pachhami (western) which inhabits the Bijnaur forest and the Pâtli Doon between the Ramganga and the Ganges,—and a section reaching still farther west from the Ganges to the Jumna. The last consisted of merely a few scattered hamlets interspersed with those of other and more numerous tribes. As no mention is made of Bogshas living within the tract last named in the Census Report of 1881, it may be presumed that they no longer

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\* North-West Gazetteer, 1879, vol. V, p. 630. Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, p. 503.

† *Sketch Book*, by Washington Irving. The quotation is from his essay called *Traits of Indian Character*.

## 42 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

dwell there, or that they have been absorbed into other communities, and have ceased to call themselves by the name of Bogsha. Between the western and eastern sections there is no such thing as *barâdari* or friendly tribal intercourse. Each shuns the other, and the usual fictions are repeated about eating frogs and lizards.

The *eastern* section, or that which dovetails with the Thârus near the Sârda river, live much in the same way as the Thârus do, as is clear from the sketch written by Mr. Colvin in 1866. "Both tribes," he says, "are superstitious, and, as a rule, truthful, much given to intoxicating drink, and not very chaste; both more or less migratory, only continuing to cultivate the land until it is exhausted, and then moving off to fresh grounds; both utterly reckless with water, with which they inundate their fields. . . . Both tribes are supposed to be adepts in magical arts. . . . They attribute their general immunity from marauders during the disturbances caused by the Mutiny, to the general belief in their superhuman powers, which the Desis, or plains-people, entertained. At the same time they have the greatest confidence in their *bararars*, or medicine-men, who are consulted on every occasion, and who mulct them heavily for their services. As a general rule the Thâru is more intelligent than the Bogsha. . . . To this day neither the Boghas nor Thârus build even earthen walls for their houses; which are made of posts driven into the ground with beams resting on them. . . . They employ hill or plains-men as *lohars* (blacksmiths); all which tends to prove that they never possessed knowledge sufficient to admit of their erecting the buildings, or sinking the masonry wells, ruins of which still exist in the Tarai." \* All this tallies with what we have said about Thârus, and therefore no farther account need be given.

The manners of the *western* section are, however, somewhat different, and have been described in some detail by Dr. J. L. Stewart, 1865, (in Vol. XXXIV. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society,) whose paper has been made the basis of the following remarks.

Eleven of the Bogsha villages were examined by Dr. Stewart in the Bijnour district. "All are built on the same plan, of one straight street generally of considerable width, (in some cases as much as 40 or 50 feet) and kept very clean,—in both respects differing remarkably from the ordinary villages of the plains. The huts are placed end to end, with intervals after every group of three or four; and the walls are for the most part built of wattle and dab, but sometimes of *chappar* (thatch), of which latter the roofs also are constructed. The houses are windowless,

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\* North-West Census Report, 1867, vol. I, appendix B, p. 61.



## *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 43*

but each has a door in front, and another behind, the latter affording access to the sheds for cattle, &c. The doorways and roofs are very low, and the floors of beaten earth are considerably raised above the general level of the ground. . . . These western Bogshas do not at any time live in houses built on poles, as is stated to be the case with those opposite Kumaon." (p. 150).

As regards the physical characteristics of the tribe, Dr. Stewart commences with drawing rather a strong picture of their Mongolian or Thibetan features. "The eyes are small, the opening of the eyelids being narrow, linear, and horizontal. The face is very broad across the cheekbones, and the nose is depressed, thus increasing the apparent flatness of the face. The jaw is prognathous, and the lower lip thick, and the moustache and beard very scanty." It would appear from this that the Mongolian features are more marked among the Bogshas seen by Dr. Stewart than among the Tharus whom I have seen in the Kheri and Gonda districts. But the author observes further on, that "some of these peculiarities are much more marked in certain individuals than in others;" and again in another place, "that some lads were remarked in whose features could be discovered no difference from those of the ordinary peasant of the district," and that in looking back into his diary he found the words "features hardly so marked here" noted more than once. He adds, too, that some Bogshas told him "they could not detect a fellow tribesman until he *spoke*." These qualifications—coupled with the assertion made by the author in another place, that "in general build and in complexion they do not differ much from the ordinary Hindu peasant of the district"—tally with the picture drawn by ourselves of the physiognomy of the Tharus, and do not conflict with our hypothesis, that the Bogshas, like the Tharus, are an Indian tribe, which has acquired more or less a Mongolian caste of face through marriage with hill women.

In any case the traditions of the Bogshas, like those of the Tharus, point unmistakeably to India, and not to Naipal or Kumaon, as the original habitat of the tribe. Some of the clans, like some of those of the Tharu tribe, claim a Rajput origin, and have given out "that they are Powar Rajputs, descended from Uday Jit, who in the 12th century A. D. left their native place in Rajputana on account of family quarrels, and came either mediately or directly to settle here." The author adds, however, that it was difficult to find any two spokesmen agreeing. Some said "that they had come from the Dekkhan, but even in this they were not unanimous." One stated "that they came from Delhi," and another that "they had been driven from their original home in the Dekkhan by the Marhattas." What most

#### 44 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

agreed in was, that they were Rajputs,—a fiction suggested by the same instinct of vanity as that which has prompted the Tharus to set up a similar claim. (pp. 152-3).

In one important respect, the Bogshas of the Bijnour district differ from their brethren to the east and from the Tharus of the forest beyond. They have become Brahmanized. They must now, therefore, be ranked as Hindus, but only as Hindus of the same imperfect and degraded type, as that to which all the low caste villagers of Hindustan must be said to belong. "They conform," says our author, "to the Hindu religion in an ignorant, unmeaning way, and the usual rites of that faith are performed on the occasion of births, marriages, and deaths. Marriage, as among the Hindus, takes place at from 8 to 10 years, and at this ceremony the purohit (Brahman family priest) receives a fee of about 4 annas. The bodies of the dead are burned at Ramganga or other neighbouring large stream, and the ashes are carried to Hardwâr, there to be consigned to Gangaji by a Brahman, who gets a rupee or two for his trouble. Besides his special fees, each purohit receives a general contribution from every village in his beat, apparently amounting to about 5 maunds of grain each crop, which is allocated among families according to their means. In small matters also, the Bogshas adhere to Hindu customs. Thus, they do not wear their shoes, (supposing they have any to wear,) during cooking, and they kill animals to be used as food by a blow or cut on the back of the neck, (jhatka,) and not by the throat cutting process (halâl karna) of the Mussalmans." (pp. 155-6.)

The clan of Brahmans which has succeeded in winning these new sheep to the Hindu fold is of the Gaur (or Gaund) tribe. They do not live among their flock, but remain safely outside the forest track, except when they pay a visit to their constituents. Each man has a select number of families in his charge, and none of their body is allowed to intrude into another's preserves. It might be supposed that these Brahmans would be men of superior intelligence to those whose consciences they profess to guide. But the very sight of a Brahman, supposing his credentials to Brahmanhood to be sound, is often enough to conquer an Indian savage. *Veni, vidi, vici*, might be written as the motto of most of the victories they have gained. Of the three purohits with whom Dr. Stewart conversed, two "were apparently most ignorant and stupid, while the third was fairly intelligent, sensible, and communicative." (p. 157.)

But while the Bogshas have thus allowed themselves to be placed under the tutelage of Brahmans, they have not by any means discarded their own indigenous magicians or



medicine-men. They call them by the honorific title of *pudhân*, a corruption probably from the high Brahmanical name of Upâdhay or spiritual guide. These men expel devils in the name of their goddess or her consort, adjudicate disputes which the council of elders find too intricate to be solved, and—exact fees.

As amongst Thârus, and in fact among all the tribes on Upper India, whether Brahmanized or not, special devotion is paid by these Bogshas to the death goddess, the spouse of Shiva. By the Bogshas she is generally called Bhawâni, or Devi, *the* goddess: but her attributes are essentially the same as those of the Thâru Kâlikâ. They have also two local saints, Surwar Lakhi and Kalu Saiyad. Of the former Dr. Stewart could learn nothing. The latter has a shrine at the entrance to the main pass through the Siwâlik hills into the Patli Doon, and all wayfarers as they pass, of whatever tribe, race, or creed, make offerings to his shrine, (p. 156). His name *saiyad* (but this is not stated by Dr. Stewart,) is evidently a corruption of *shahîd*, "martyr,"—some Mussalman, who met with a violent death from wild beast or man, and whose soul therefore harassed the neighbourhood, till it at last became comforted and flattered by the endless offerings and supplications paid to it. Now, he is the genius of the pass, and men invoke him "when entering upon an undertaking, or when engaged in severe exertion, such as heaving up a load." (p. 156.)

A considerable proportion of the tribe follow Nânak Mathâ, that is, they have adopted the guru (or spiritual guide) of the Sikhs as their own. Indeed they are called Sikh by their brethren, and not Nânak Shâhi, as the followers of Nânak are called in Hindustan generally. (p. 157).

In many, if not most, of the villages, families of the Sikh persuasion are intermingled with those who have adhered to Hinduism proper. And thus the unity of sentiment, which is the most pleasing feature of a Thâru village, distinguishing it more than any thing else from an ordinary Hindu village in the plains, has been broken up. The same disunion exists in their agriculture. A class of men called Sânis has come up from the plains and settled, always in a separate cluster by themselves, within the area of the Bogsha villages, where they raise crops of tobacco. Between Sânis and Bogshas there is no intercourse but what cannot be avoided. (p. 162).

Notwithstanding the intermixtures of creed and race, the Bogshas are in character still very like Thârus,—simple, open-hearted, truthful, brave, and not without a sense of humour, but lazy, ignorant, intemperate, and uninquisitive. "Any disputes that occur are referred to the village elders. For three years at least, not one of the tribe has been a party in either a civil or criminal suit in the district courts," (p. 157). They have no



## 46 *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India.*

arts or manufactures whatever, except that of mat making, thatching, the plaiting of osiers, &c. "There only amusement," continues our author, "seems to be the pursuit of game, terrestrial and aquatic, and they complained bitterly that the recent carrying out of the Disarming Act had deprived them of a chief means of livelihood. They are excessively greedy after animal food: and Mr. Batten informs me, Bogshas have told him, that without wild pig a Bogsha would die," (p. 159). There is one industry however, in which Bogshas engage, but from which Thârus have, for obvious reasons, been debarred,—gold washing. They have learnt this art from hillsmen and others, to whom it has long been a profitable pursuit. But such is the simplicity of their notions, that they imagine gold dust to be the product of sâl leaves, when burnt by forest fires, acting on any grains of iron or copper which the sand or soil of their country may contain, and converting them into gold. (p. 161).

Dr. Stewart concludes his paper with a long professional enquiry into the diseases to which the tribe is subject. He finds that their alleged immunity from the malarious fevers, dysenteries, chest diseases, and other ailments of the jungle has been vastly exaggerated. The same must also be said of the Thârus, whom a writer in the Oudh Gazetteer, following in this respect the generally repeated notion, has described as "the only" "people whom a constitution impervious to fever enables to" "contend with the malaria of the jungles and to become the" "pioneers of cultivation." \* The truth is that both tribes are subject, though to a less degree than the ordinary peasant of the plains would be, to all the ailments of the jungle, and it is to this fact, that their intense belief in the agency of evil spirits, and in the importance of the medicine-man, must be ascribed. In the case of the Bogshas, the effect of the unhealthiness of the climate has been intensified by the miserable diet on which most of the tribe subsist. For under British rule the hunting grounds in the Kumaon valleys have been curtailed by settlements from outsiders to a much greater degree than those of the Thârus, who can easily cross over the border from British into Naipal territory, where a freer use of weapons is allowed, and where the forest has been less cleared for cultivation or the sale of timber.

Dr. Stewart has recorded his impression that "these western Bogshas are surely and not slowly, dying out," and he ascribes it to the two causes already named. To these we may perhaps add a third, namely, that their conversion to Brahmanism has laid a new tax upon their crops, has put new restraints on their freedom in the consumption of flesh and wine, and imposed the debilitating custom of child-marriage.

JOHN C. NESFIELD.

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\* Oudh Gazetteer, vol. I. Introd., p. xxxiv.



ART. II.—“THE GAROS :”  
THEIR CUSTOMS AND MYTHOLOGY.”

**M**Y first introduction to the Garos was a curious one, and at the time, rather an alarming one.

It was at the close of a gloriously fine October day in 18—, that G. and I approached a large village at the foot of the Garo Hills. We were on our way to the head-quarters of the district, where a Station had been formed about three years previously, and where we expected to spend some few years. I was eager to find out what our home was like, and to make the acquaintance of the tribe amongst whom we were to live ; but I had no idea that my introduction to them would be such a sudden and startling one. As we drew near the village, G. was enticed away by the promising look of some swampy ground on our right, where he hoped to get a few snipe. Being tired with a long day's ride over such roads as are seldom seen anywhere out of Assam, I retired to the depths of a palkee and fell asleep. A confused sound of many voices awoke me, and I started up to find myself surrounded by a crowd of savages, laughing, chattering, gesticulating, and making a great noise.

The palkee-bearers had carried me right into the Hát or market, and as this is the largest weekly Hát in that part of the country, there were hundreds of Garos assembled in it. I could not tell my palkee-bearers to take me away, as I did not know the language, and neither could I get out and walk away, for the Garos crowded up to the palkee, so I sat still and looked at them. The scene was a very picturesque one, but it was fortunate for me that my nerves were tolerably strong, for it was rather alarming to find myself alone in the midst of such a noisy crowd of savages, nearly all of whom carried spears and shields, and whose appearance was far from peaceful in the red light of a number of large torches.

However, the light showed me that they were all laughing and talking excitedly, and the sight of the broad grins on their good-humoured faces was reassuring. There were many women amongst them, and it was evident that I was an object of great curiosity to them. They crowded round me, laughing and talking, and pointing to my hat, dress, &c. I had heard of savages rubbing the skin of a white person, to see if the color would come off, but now I had ocular demonstration of it, for one woman's curiosity so far overcame her politeness, that she suddenly reached forward and gave my hand, which

was on the edge of the palkee, a quick rub. Whatever her motive was, she was greatly abashed at the shouts of laughter that her act caused.

My surprise at the sight of all these savages was as great as their's was at seeing me, and my curiosity equalled their's. They had most of them never seen a lady before, as only one lady had ever passed through to Tura before. As the Garos that I then saw were a very fair specimen of their race, and were the same as all that I have since seen, I will endeavour to describe them. The men were, as a rule, of a good height, and well made, strong and active, but not good-looking. They wore only a long strip of cloth, about 5 inches broad, girt round their waists like a waist band, and then passed between the legs, and caught into the waist portion, and the end arranged as a small apron. This cloth is of native manufacture, and is generally red and dark blue, and the front piece that forms the apron is frequently ornamented with rows of white beads.

Every man carried a spear made of bamboo, with a sharp iron head. Many had shields made of cane-work, and swords. Men and women alike wore earrings, but the women had the larger number, and only plain round ones made of brass, while the men wore smaller and much more fanciful ones. Some of them were three inches long and covered with colored stones, and were worn in the upper part of the ear, while others were simply small brass rings half an inch in diameter: ten or a dozen were forced through the lobe of the ear. Many of the men wore a small piece of cloth wrapped round their heads, and I noticed that the men also had a greater variety of necklaces, the favourite ones being made of cornelian beads of various shapes and sizes.

The Garo women wear enormous bunches of earrings; some that were weighed for curiosity, were found to be over 16 pounds weight. The rings are thick plain brass ones, like curtain rings, and are forced through the lobe of the ear, which become very large in consequence. A string is passed through the rings and over the head to support the great weight, but even that does not save the lobes of the ears from frequently breaking right through. Even little babies have a large ring forced into each ear, and as every additional ring is considered a sign of additional wealth and beauty, the more the parents can force into their daughter's ears, the better they are pleased. It is almost impossible for the women to turn their heads on account of the large bunches of rings on each side of their faces; the hair on the top of their heads is quite worn away by the friction of the string that supports the rings, and they are quite innocent of the art of hair-dressing.



If they have an abundance of ornaments, they have very little else to boast of. Their clothing consist of a strip of dark red and blue cloth, about a foot wide, and long enough to reach round the loins: a sort of diminutive petticoat that they fasten below the hip bone on the left side. Those who had babies—and I noticed that there were very few who had not—had them slung in a cloth across their shoulders, so arranged that they could swing them round from the back to the front at pleasure, and with as little concern as if they were bundles of cotton. The men and women struck me as being far from good-looking. They have broad, good-tempered faces, but most of the women are very plain, and the absence of hair on the faces of the men is almost universal amongst them; it is very unusual to see a Garo with any hair on his face. Their curiosity is, like that of most savages, excessive, and on the occasion I am speaking of, was so undisguised, that I was glad when G. came up, and had me carried off from their astonished gaze.

We stayed the night in the guard-house, which was occupied by a few constables of the Frontier Police. It was a mud hut, with a long *machan*, (a bamboo platform) at one end, on which our bedding was spread.

The next morning we rode off through a crowd of Garos, all of whom were in a state of excitement at seeing us. The fact of my riding a pony seemed to astonish them more than anything. They were accustomed to see European gentlemen occasionally, but not a lady. Many of them recognised G. (who had been in the hills for two years before taking furlough) and gave him a welcome in Garo, of which, of course, I could not understand a word, but there was no mistaking the meaning of the broad smiles on their faces when they recognised him.

We saw the last of the plains that day, and gradually ascended towards the hills. Some parts of the road being through forest, was very pretty, especially where it followed the windings of a river. The air was fresh, and although the sun was intensely hot, the breeze prevented our being greatly distressed by it.

There was very little of the country to be seen from the road, for the jungle was thick on each side of it. The recent heavy rains had made the road, which was merely a pathway which had been cut through the jungle, very difficult to travel over, and our ponies had hard work to wade through the thick mud. As on the previous day, I found that sitting for many hours on animals that could not move out of a walk, and had to labor along over such a bad road, was almost as tiring as walking, and I was obliged to retire once more into my palkee, and, of course, soon fell asleep.

My awakening was even more unpleasant then on the previous

evening, for I was put down with a sudden drop and jar that made me think the palkee had fallen from the bearers' hands. But it was only their mode of expressing their relief at a pause in their journey, and I was politely invited in an unknown language to alight. I did so, and found myself close to the banks of a river, the breadth of which was considerable, and the depth of which I could not judge, but which was evidently swollen from the rain. G. was nowhere to be seen, but one of his orderlies was there, and also one of the elephants. This man made signs to me that the *Sahib* had crossed the river, and motioning to the elephant, and placing a small chair about 18 inches high, by the side of the huge beast, which was made to kneel down, he gave me to understand that I was to mount on its back to cross the river. Obedience is heaven's first law, and when I heard the words "*Sahib*" and "*hukum*," I felt bound to obey, and having unbounded faith in G.'s arrangements, I never doubted but that it was really his order that I was to cross the river on the elephant, and only feared that something had happened to prevent his being there himself, as it was the first time he had left me.

I had never seen any one riding on an elephant, and was perfectly ignorant of what the riding gear should be; the fact, therefore, of there being no pad on the animal, but only a small piece of sacking fastened on by a stout rope, conveyed no warning to me. It was no easy matter to scramble up; many a huge slippery rock have I climbed up with less trepidation than I did that living lump of flesh. Obeying the motions of the Mahout I seated myself well between the shoulders close behind him, and managed with the greatest difficulty to keep my seat when the animal rose to its feet; but the descent down the steep bank to the river was too much for me, and as the elephant slipped one of its legs down the bank, and then the other, thus suddenly lowering its shoulders, I too slipped. The Mahout turned just in time to catch me by one arm, and I held on to the rope for dear life with the other, and crossed the river hanging on in this manner.

Had it been dry land, I must have dropped and taken my chance of a kick from the elephant and some broken bones, but the river was beneath me and I knew that if I fell I should be washed away by the current before I could recover my footing, although I saw that the water was not deep enough to drown me could I have been sure of dropping on my feet, but the current was strong, and I dared not risk it. The pain in my arms and wrists was intense; every step the elephant took shook my whole body, hanging as I was right over its fore leg, and it was with the greatest difficulty I could keep my hold on the rope. The minutes that elapsed before the opposite bank was



reached seemed to be hours. When at last we were on dry ground, I dropped, and was caught and carried into the guard house by one of the men, where G. was busy having the place prepared for me, and some soup warmed.

It was fortunate for the orderley and the Mahout that I fainted and so required G.'s attention for some time, and they were wise enough to be missing for the rest of the evening, and to keep out of the way for the rest of the journey. It must have been a piece of pure wickedness on their part, putting me on the elephant as they did, for G. who had gone on to get things ready for me at the guard house, had crossed the river leaving the constable (who was on orderley duty at that time, but not, I noticed, the next day) with orders to make the palkee-bearers lift my palkee on their heads, as they had done several times before, and carry me over. It was over twelve months before I got on an elephant again.

The next morning we had only nine miles to ride, and I was charmed with the scenery, and the first appearance of the Station that was to be our home for eight years. The road wound through the hills, which were covered with magnificent trees and masses of jungle, which objectionable as it may be upon closer inspection, is often graceful to a degree, especially the climbing jungle that hangs in masses from the trees and forms the most graceful and delicate of foliage. The sides of the hills were covered with a thousand varieties of trees, shrubs, creepers and undergrowth, the luxuriance of which surpassed anything I had ever imagined. The want of enthusiasm on G's part was, I considered, most inexplicable; such trees, such richness of foliage, such lights and shades, and such flowers and ferns, how could any one see them without admiring them? I saw them for the first time, and for eight years I saw little else but those endless jungles, and although my eye told me to the very last that they were as beautiful as when I first went into raptures over them, there were times when the sight of them sickened me, and I loathed their beauty. The graceful and delicate creepers became as strong cords binding us to that wilderness; the tall and stately trees were as sentinels set to guard us, lest we should escape and be free; and the vast stretch of evergreen jungle, was as an impenetrable barrier, shutting us off from home, friends, and even from our fellow creatures. In times of perfect health, when the body and mind are alike active, and ready to appreciate the beauties of nature, the jungles of Assam, or at least of the hills of Assam, afford an endless source of amusement and instruction, and wear a smiling face. But in times of sickness and depression, when the moist breath of those same jungles has entered, laden with malaria into the system, and the weary days drag on

varied only by a greater or lesser amount of fever, the beauty of color, the gracefulness of foliage, the rareness of the ferns, and the thousand and one wonders of jungle life fade away, and leave only an aggrieved sense of their falseness—so fair and yet so deadly—and a hopeless longing to be away from them.

The station itself was visible long before we reached it, and appeared to be merely a small brown spot at the foot of a very high hill. By degrees I could make out a few huts, and a small whitewashed Bungalow some little distance above them. That Bungalow was to be our home, and very pretty it looked and picturesque, with the hills rising behind it, and the compact little station lying below it. A hill stream ran down the side of the spur on which it was built, and supplied the station with clear, pure water, and a small water course had been made to conduct the water right through the station.

The buildings were very few and very rough when first we arrived at Tura, but as years went by, many improvements were made. New Bungalows were built by Chinese carpenters, fruit trees were planted, fine grass was brought up from the plains and carefully planted out, and a bazar was formed, where most articles of native consumption were obtainable.

At first the life was rather rough, as nothing could be obtained in the place, except rice, ghee, and salt, and sometimes oil. Our servants were inclined to grumble at first, but they soon became accustomed to their scanty fare, and were content to wait for the good days that we assured them were coming, when the roads to the plains should be opened out. It was fortunate that G. had been at Tura for two years before we were married and settled there, as he knew the barrenness of the land, and had provided accordingly. There was no fish, flesh or fowl to be bought in the place, neither was there any milk or vegetables. Before leaving on furlough G. had bought two mules, and we found them at Tura when we arrived, and kept them for some years to bring up provisions from the plains. Fowls, ducks, potatoes, and vegetables were to be obtained at the Hât at Pooteemaree, and once or twice we had milk brought up, but that could only be done in the cold weather, and as it was buffaloe milk, it was not particularly good, except for making cream of. For some months after we arrived at Tura, the Garos brought nothing into the station for sale, but by degrees they began to do so, as they found that they could sell the things well, and after a time they brought in fowls and eggs—(the latter were almost always bad) but as they never keep cows, we were as badly off for milk as ever, until we sent to the plains and bought cows. The Garos and



the Nagas also, have a prejudice against milk, and never make any use of it even for young children; they take great care of young bulls, which they purchase at the Hâts, and fatten up for fighting, or for killing and eating on their great Pujah days. When the Garos found that there was a good market for the few vegetables, &c., that they grew, and that they generally received a little salt, or a bottle as a present, they came into the station in greater numbers, and curiosity brought in those who had nothing to sell. They would frequently bring me a present of two or three bad eggs, and expect in return to be allowed to see everything in the Bungalow, and to be given a glass of rum or brandy and some salt and empty bottles.

Our first little girl was born a few months after our arrival, and it was amusing to see the number of Garos who came to inspect her; being the first white child they had ever seen, they thought her a great curiosity. One old man, a Luskur, (head man over several villages) came to see her, and brought the funniest little old woman with him. She was very small, and had snow white hair, which was more plentiful than is usual with the women, as she had discarded her cumbersome earrings, and consequently the string that supported them, and her hair, had grown all over her head. She must have been very old, but was upright and active. The Luskur wore an old scarlet hunting coat, a present he had been given some years before, and which was none the better for having been worn in all weathers, day and night, even since he had it. I might almost say that a tall poled hat which had also seen service, completed his attire, for the usual Garo strip of cloth that he wore was not visible below the coat, and the effect of such a coat and hat, with his thin and withered legs appearing from under them, was ludicrous, and was made still more so, by his having a number of fanciful earrings hanging from the edges of his ears like fringes, while the lobes were split right through, and had been pulled down by the weight of earrings that he must have sported in his younger days, until they touched his shoulders.

This curious couple had a dozen or more followers who crowded into the verandah, and peeped in at the doors. Some white rabbits that we had, attracted their attention, until the white baby was brought out. Then they crowded round her, pointing to her hands feet and ears, and going off into little chuckles of laughter at the whitish fluff that went by the name of hair: they were anxious to know why her ears were not decorated with rings. Having been duly inspected and admired she was carried off into the inner room, and placed in her cot, and I thought my visitors would take the hint and retire, but the little old women had followed the child and stood looking at her, clasping and unclasping her withered hands, and whispering

to herself. She could not be induced to leave the child until a glass of rum was held out to her, then she followed the rum, which was presented to her lord and master, who having poured a considerable portion down his throat, presented the glass to her. She enjoyed the potent draught, and left but little to be divided amongst the followers, who were not backward in asking for more. The way in which these people swallow raw spirits, or liquor of any sort, is very curious; they do not *drink* it in the usual sense of the word; they open their mouths and pour the liquor down their throats. They swallow it, without finding it necessary to close their mouths; it seems simply to run down their throats.

Men and women, boys and girls, are all alike fond of spirits; no present is so acceptable to them as rum, and they rarely fail to ask for it. They do not care for beer, and mistrust the froth of it. They make a liquor themselves from rice, and although it looks poor and thin, it is often very potent. They drink great quantities of it, especially when they have a feast, but it rarely makes them quarrelsome, or causes disturbances; they merely fall asleep, and when they awake, are none the worse for it, but as bright and active as before they took it.

When travelling in the district we found it a great convenience to have one or more of the Garo constables with us to act as interpreters, but they had to be carefully watched, to see that they did not go off to the nearest village and indulge in Garo liquor. I remember on one occasion there was a marriage festival in a village close to our camp. The noise was overpowering, even outside the village; how those who were inside could listen to it hour after hour and keep their senses I really do not know? The discordant blowing of horns and beating of drums, seemed to cause an immense amount of satisfaction to the villagers; as it was very cold, perhaps they kept themselves warm by their violent exertions.

I enjoyed the camping in the cold weather; the camping grounds were generally very pretty, with a clear stream or small river close by. It was very cold at that season, and a large camp fire was a very acceptable luxury in the mornings and evenings, although the sun was warm in the day time. On one occasion we were in camp at one place for nearly a month, as G. had to look after the making of a new road, and although the life was necessarily rough, it was very pleasant. Upon leaving the tent in the morning, it was a pretty and a busy scene that met our eyes. A small river, as clear as a moorland stream, ran almost round three sides of the camping ground, which was small. The bright and varied tints of the dense foliage on the further side of the stream formed



a good contrast to the reddish-brown of a large cultivation that stretched away on the left and to the blue hills in the distance, while a still pleasanter view was afforded to us in the foreground, where the table was laid for Chota Hazree (or small breakfast) close to a splendid fire of dry logs, that was blazing away right cheerfully. The dogs appreciated the warmth as much as we did, and were always to be seen sitting sedately by the fire until the arrival of the tea-pot warned them that they had better leave the cosy nook and be on the look out for stray bits of biscuits, &c. The poor servants presented a dismal appearance, as they do not like the cold, and crept about shivering and covering themselves up in their warm cloths. The Ayah, warmly wrapped up, but still shivering and miserable, was a fair example of an Asiatic in cold weather, while the baby dancing in her arms, and crowing with delight at everything around her, with bright eyes and rosy cheeks, showed plainly enough how she appreciated the the keen, fresh atmosphere.

After Chota Hazree the ponies were brought, and we started off with dogs and guns for the morning's work. Sometimes we had to struggle through freshly cut jungle for G. to mark out the line of road, and as the ponies could not be taken over it, we had to walk. The trunk of a tree often served me for a seat while G. went on pegging out the line or directing the coolies. There was always something new and wonderful to be seen in the heart of the jungle, and I found many lovely flowers and ferns and strange insects to occupy my attention, but alas! the strange insects were strangely unpleasant ones, and to enjoy all the beauties of nature, seated on a tree trunk in the midst of dense jungle, one's skin should be like that of an elephant.

Ants of many and various kinds and degrees of viciousness, centipedes, spiders, and wood lice, swarm round one, not to mention flies and mosquitoes and leeches, and last but not least, ticks. These latter are a very bloodthirsty tribe, and vary in size from a pin's head to a haricot bean; small or large they are all alike objectionable and troublesome. They are, or at least the smaller ones, flat-backed, and are armed with a strong pair of nippers, which they insert into the flesh, and by which they attach themselves to it so firmly, that if pulled off forcibly, they take a piece of the skin away with them: the bite often remains sore for days and even weeks. The best and least painful way to remove them, is to cut them in two and leave the nipppers in the skin for a few minutes, when they can be easily drawn out with the portion of the tick that they are attached to.

These insects were so troublesome that we frequently, after

a walk over the newly cut jungle, had to have all our clothes put into the river to get rid of them, and kept there until we could be sure they had found a watery grave: the dogs suffered a great deal from them. Leeches are also very unpleasant and very numerous, and their bite also takes some time to heal. It may be very entertaining to a naturalist like Ernst Hackel to see these creatures in their natural state, but to the ordinary traveller it conveys far other feelings to see their long black bodies, varying in length and thickness from one to two inches, and from a stout black thread to a piece of pipe liquorice, moving in the air like so many small black flags, with one end attached to a leaf or a blade of grass, on either side of the pathway, under one's feet and over one's head; and the sensation when one of them succeeds in attaching itself firmly to the nape of one's neck or one's ankle, is very far from pleasant. They manage to get inside one's clothes; and although G. wore woollen stockings with the breeches or trowsers well tucked inside them and leathern gaiters, he generally found one or more leeches inside his stockings when he took them off.

The ponies suffered more from the leeches than the dogs their hair being shorter, but the latter used frequently to get them up their noses, and we had great difficulty in getting them down. I never saw a horse-leech in the Garo Hills, but in the Naga hills, I saw two that had been taken out of the nostrils of a cow, and that, when put into a large salt bottle, (Crosse and Blackwell's table salt 2 lb. bottle) curled round it from the bottom to the stopper, and were as thick as an ordinary office ruler.

When G's road work was done, if it was not too late, we generally went over some of the cultivations that were near our camping ground; this was always a source of pleasure to me. G. walked ahead on the look-out for game, and I learnt to follow him everywhere, on my sure-footed little pony. Sometimes, if we went to a greater distance than usual, G. would mount his pony too, until suddenly the dogs would put up the game—a jungle fowl, or a black pheasant, a partridge or a quail, or we came across some pea-fowl—then G's rein was thrown to me, and I held his pony, while he followed the game and brought it down.

The ground was often very rough and there were no roads, but our ponies were wonderfully clever in picking their way up or down the narrow paths, which were often nothing more than a dried up water-course. Some of them were so steep that we could not ride up them, and when that was the case, we usually got off, and following the example of the men and boys on the sea-shore who drive their horses up the cliffs with their loads of seaweed, and catch hold of their tails, we caught hold of the



ponies tails and were pulled up. It was rather breathless work, as my pony was always in a hurry and scrambled up like a cat, while I had to hold on tight and follow him over the big boulders as best I could. The scenery from the top of these miniature ascents, was often quite reward enough for the exertion in getting up, and if we were further rewarded by the sight of some game, I was perfectly content.

There is no pleasure in wandering about over such rough ground, over paths that were never intended even for bridle-paths, unless the ponies are sure footed and tractable: a clever little hill pony will find his way over places that would bring a horse to grief in no time. They learn to extricate themselves from difficulties very cleverly, and to remain quiet under the most trying circumstances. Only once or twice during the whole time that I rode him did "Hercules" give me any trouble on the hills tracts, although he was lively enough on a good piece of road. On one occasion I was leading the way down to a stream the path of which was very narrow, cut out of the side of the hill, which rose above us from a steep bank, while the khud on the other side was just as steep. The stream ran at the bottom of the khud, and the tree ferns grew in magnificent profusion in the deep glen. There was such richness of verdure, such variety of vegetation, so many new leaves and plants to be found in that cool quiet glen, that I was more occupied with looking after these new objects of interest than in watching my pony's movements, and was lost in admiration of a splendid specimen of the climbing Begonia, when "Hercules" nearly sent me over his head by coming to a dead stop. We had come to the end of the pathway which stopped abruptly on the top of a bank, that was nearly as high as "Hercules" himself, but which he had always slipped down cleverly enough before. Now he refused to go down; nothing would induce him to put his fore feet over the edge as usual. G's pony began to be restive too, and as there was no room for any very lively movements, I jumped off intending to lead "Hercules" down, and if possible jump up again before he was in the stream, which ran a couple of feet from the bank. But when I was off, a slight breeze came across the stream, and brought an odour with it that was far too strong to be pleasant, and looking across I saw a large python that had been hung by the neck from a tree, in such a manner, that the whole of its huge carcase floated in the water. It had been killed by some Garos, but I never could find out why they had tied it in the stream exactly at the place where the ford was; it was no wonder the ponies objected to go any nearer the stream. We could not tell how

long this python was, as the constant motion of the water prevented our seeing it properly, but it could not have been less than two feet in circumference at the neck where it was tied. I wonder the Garos had not eaten it, as they do not generally object to flesh of any description except that of tigers or leopards, and if they cannot get a fowl, or a duck, are content with a good big rat.

Their cooking, like everything else about them, is very simple, and one evening I witnessed the curious but not very appetising manner in which one of them prepared his supper. He caught a duck that had been tied up by the leg near him and killed it. He immediately plucked out the larger feathers, leaving all the small ones. He then took it by one wing and one leg, and turned it slowly round as close to the fire as he could hold it, until the feathers were burnt off, by which time he considered it was sufficiently cooked. He then tore it to pieces and consumed it, with a large quantity of rice that he had previously boiled in a piece of green bamboo. Although the Garos never use milk, the girls and boys that entered our service soon learnt to do so, and became very fond of it. Not being troubled with any caste prejudices they make very good under-servants.

A bright, intelligent Garo girl is a great acquisition ; they learn quickly, and are much more tractable and straightforward than any other class of native women that it has been my lot to have to deal with. My only trouble with them was, that after being in service long enough to show the advantage of good living and light work, and to grow plump and well-favored, they were very desirable matches, and often left my service to marry men who would have nothing to do with them when they were thin and weakly. Personal good looks have no value in their eyes, and a wife is valued not for her charms, but her ability to do her share of the work.

The women are very hard workers, always doing their share of the field work, and carrying large baskets of cotton to the Hât. When travelling for pleasure, they are rather fond of visiting their friends and relations who live in other villages ; the men carry only their spears, while the women carry all the baggage. This custom arose when it was unsafe for them to travel from village to village unarmed, and armed men always accompanied a party to protect them from their enemies.

The women always run away at first on the approach of strangers, except those who, from visiting the station, are accustomed to see Europeans. I have often been amused to see a string of Garo women (they always walk in one after the other and never side by side) drop their baskets and skuttle off in most



ungraceful haste, when upon turning a corner, they have come suddenly upon us. In their own cultivations or villages they do just the same, although they will come out readily from their houses, and crowd round any visitors who halt at their villages; and they are not at all shy when they visit the station. It seems to be an instinct of fear, such as wild animals must feel at the approach of anything new and strange, and not the absurd false modesty of the Nepaulese coolie women (or Goorkahs) who turn their backs to you as you pass, and cover their heads and faces, but who have no hesitation in rushing to the presence of the very people that they have so carefully concealed their faces from on the road, and indulging in a storm of words and abuse against anyone who has offended them, that would put any fish-woman to shame.

When first we lived in the hills, the men always walked about armed, except in the station; and there a very wise rule was enforced, that all spears should be left at the guard house and not brought into the station. As time passed and the Garos learnt to bring their disputes to the cutcherry to be settled, instead of settling them by the spear and sword, they began to move about more freely and to leave their spears at home.

An expedition that was sent in 1873 to the inner hills, had a most beneficial effect on the country. Before then, although the whole of the hills were supposed to be annexed, only some portions acknowledged the authority of, and sought the protection of government.

The Garos of the inner hills asserted their independence, and frequently disturbed their more peaceful neighbours by making raids on them. The villages that were raided on, naturally expected government to protect them, but it did not make any determined effort to do so, until the offenders put the finishing stroke to their misdeeds, by murdering a Government Chuprassee, belonging to the Survey department. Government was obliged to take notice of this, and demanded that the murderers should be given up, but the Independents refused. Several attempts were made to bring them to reason, but without effect, and at last Government consented to allow the Deputy Commissioner to enforce the demand for the murderers to be given up, and to lead a considerable body of police into the inner hills for that purpose. The expedition was thoroughly successful, and very great credit is due to the officer who was at that time in charge of the Garo Hills, for the ability he displayed in conducting it, and in bringing to a successful conclusion, what would have been in less competent hands a long and troublesome affair, entailing as much loss of life and money as the many other expeditions that form one of the chief features of Assam history. Although this expedition



was one of the smallest and least expensive of the many that have been sent against the various tribes on the Assam frontier, it was one of the most successful. It consisted entirely of Frontier Police, at the particular request of Major Williamson, the Deputy Commissioner, and everything was so thoroughly well organised by him, that there was a notable absence of the blunders that have so frequently attended expeditions of this kind, and the Independent Garos soon submitted.

They were compelled to give up the skulls that they had for generations collected. These skulls were much prized as trophies, and were frequently the cause of feuds being kept up between villages, as each village was anxious to regain the skulls of each of their relations and friends as had been killed by their opponents. All the skulls that could be found were collected and publicly burnt, and orders given that all that should afterwards be discovered, were to be brought to Tura and burnt in front of the cutcherry. Numbers have been brought in, and the whole country is now quiet and peaceable, and the Garos can travel from end to end of it without fear of being molested. Instead of trying to settle their disputes by spear and sword, they now bring their cases to Tura, where they are disposed of by the Deputy Commissioner or the police officer, (who is vested with the powers of a Magistrate). They are encouraged to settle all their smaller disputes by Punchayet, or village council.

Trial by ordeal is not now so common amongst them as it used to be, but they still occasionally have recourse to it, and try reputed witches and wizards by it. One of these ordeals is very curious, and very cruel. The supposed witch is put into a long, narrow Garo basket with a cat, and the basket is so secured that the woman can only thrust one hand out of it. She is then thrown into the river, and if she can succeed in reaching the bottom and grasping a handful of sand, without being scratched by the cat, she is considered innocent, but if she fails—and how can she do otherwise—she is driven away from her village and becomes an outcast; if, indeed, she is not drowned before she is brought to land. They have other ordeals which are more harmless, such as passing a bamboo pin through the shadow of a supposed witch, to pin it to the ground without her knowledge. If she moves off without any difficulty she is innocent; if she is unable to move until her shadow is released, she is guilty. Witches are said to be burning hot at night, and to be unable to sit on a log of wood cut from a particular tree. There are often cases brought into Court in which witchcraft is an important feature.

The Garo religion is, like that of most savage tribes, one of superstition. They believe in evil spirits only. In one part



of the hills these spirits are called "Dawhāpā,"\* in another "Mitti." They are believed to be very powerful, and Pujah, or sacrifice, is constantly offered to them. Whenever a new path is cut, or a village or house built, when the dhán is sown or reaped, and on many other occasions too numerous to mention, Pujah is performed.

The ceremony is as unintelligible to us, as our church services would be to them, and they shew an amount of worldly wisdom in the way in which they conduct it, that speaks well for their bump of economy. They kill a fowl or a goat, or on great occasions a bull, and sprinkle the blood, and in the case of a fowl being sacrificed, the feathers are scattered on sundry bamboos that are cut in a peculiar way and struck in the ground. This is all the "Dawhápá" receives—the Garos eat the flesh themselves. In some parts—for each different part of the hills has its own superstitions and customs, differing in detail but generally alike in substance—when there is sickness in a house, a string is attached to the doorway and carried through the cultivation to the outside of the fence that surrounds it; some food is placed at the end of the string, and the evil spirit is supposed to pass along it to obtain the food, and is in this way enticed away from the house, where its presence was supposed to have caused the sickness.

When the dhán (rice in the husk) is sown, Pujah is performed to propitiate the Dawhápá, so that the weather may be favourable, and no bears, elephants or pigs destroy the crops. When a Garo dies, there is a sort of wake, and usually a rude figure, supposed to be a likeness of the deceased, is carried and placed in the middle of the dwelling house, and some rice and Garo liquor placed before it, the friends and relations all sit round, and drink and blow horns and beat drums all through the night. The images are very roughly carved, and no attempt is made to cut out more than the head and shoulders. They are placed in front of the house, when the funeral feast is over, and the ashes of the deceased placed near them; the Garos having settled the much-vexed question of cremation many centuries ago.

There are believed to be many evil spirits, the greatest of all is "Schuschma" the father of the sun. Schuschma had two sons "Rengra Belsa" (the sun) and "Jajong" (the moon.) These two sons quarrelled and Rengra Belsa threw some mud at Jajong, who did not wash it off, intending to shew it to his father, but failing to do so immediately, his light was obscured, and has been so ever since, so that he cannot shine so brilliantly as his brother Rengra Belsa. Jajong also fails to bathe so frequently as Rengra Belsa.

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\* (Pronounced Da-whā-pā.)

"Luckhmee" is the "mother of the dhán," and to her all Pujahs concerning the crops are offered.

"Abette" is the god they fear most, although he is not by any means the most powerful, being a servant of Schuschma, by whom he is made to stay by all running water. If any one offends him, they are sure to die, and no one knows when or how they may offend him. If they touch a stone, or fell a tree that belongs to him, they are doomed, here and hereafter, and there is no sign to show what trees and what stones belong to him. If any of his children happen to be near the water, when any one goes to drink, or to bathe, or to fill their water vessels, they are frightened, and run crying to their father, who thereupon cries out in a great rage "who has made my children cry? Who were laughing and are now crying, I will eat his liver." The unfortunate offender sickens from that time and dies, when Abette claims him.

The "hereafter" of the Garos is a high hill called "Chickmung," where they live for ever, and are perfectly happy according to a Garo's ideas of happiness. Schuschma makes them work, but gives them plenty of food and liquor, and they have no troubles of any kind; except the unfortunate wretches who fall into the clutches of Abette, and they are taken to Chickmung bound hand and foot, and Abette tortures them; he causes all their food or liquor to have an offensive smell, and worries them by every means in his power, until he finally eats their liver, and then they die outright, never to live again, even in Chickmung.

If the relations of the poor victim propitiate Schuschma and he is in a good temper, he may make Abette let them go, and they then join their fellow spirits who are working happily in Chickmung, but Abette's influence is generally too strong, and he persuades Schuschma not to partake of the sacrifice or to let the prisoner loose.

Garos who are beheaded or hanged cannot go to Chickmung according to the belief in one part of the country, but in another part they believe, that if a man is beheaded, his body goes to Chickmung and his neck grows until the head is allowed to follow it, so they say "He will have a long neck in Chickmung." Those who are not admitted to Chickmung from any cause, either the want of their heads; or having been hanged, or having been very wicked in their lifetime (an ordinary amount of wickedness does not debar them) remain in perpetual darkness, and wander round the trees that are called in Garo, "Ulback," but the real name of which I could not discover. From these trees they obtain a certain amount of moisture, which is all they have to live upon. These unhappy spirits, according to the Garo term, "go into blackness."



The Garos claim a common descent with Englishmen ; how they trace their origin I could not find out, but they say they are the only "black people" who are descended from the same god as the English are.

The first man was called "Mandesingree." He thought he would die to see what it was like, and wanted his younger brother to die with him. But the brother refused to leave his house, cultivation, wife and children ; so Mandesingree died alone ; but when his brother came to the place where his ashes were buried, having drank a lot of liquor, Mandesingree persuaded him to go to Chickmung with him, so he also died.

Mandesingree, however, repented of having died, and came back to see his wife and children. His wife was away catching fish, and he told his children to tell her to carry some fish and rice into the jungle for him. The wife did not believe that the children had seen their father, and was angry with them ; but on the third day he came again, and they saw that he was quite black. The wife was again absent, but he took some plantains with him, and threw the skins on the ground as he went ; she traced him by the skins for a very long way, and at last found him. He told her not to come near him as he was black ; so she stood with her faced turned from him, and he said to her "I have left my house and my dhân, my wife and my children, and cannot return to them, and I have nothing to eat ; if you put my food where you have buried my ashes, I will come every night and eat it."

The wife faithfully attended to his request, and hence arose the custom of putting food over the spot where the ashes have been buried, for a certain number of days after any one has died : the spirit is supposed to eat it on its road to Chickmung.

Formerly when any influential Garo died, one or more human sacrifices were made, that the spirits of those sacrificed might accompany the spirit of the great man. Slaves, or Garos from unfriendly villages, were selected for this honor ; now they have to be content with sacrificing bulls or goats. There is supposed to be a large tree, half way on the road to Chickmung, where the spirits tie up their animals. So many have been tied there that one tree has worn away and has fallen, but another young tree is now used. At this place the spirits eat the food supplied by their relations for the journey. They then untie their bull or goat, and cross a deep river by means of a narrow cane bridge, and are admitted to Chickmung.

Before crossing the bridge, it is possible but not probable that they may return to life. One old man that we knew very well, was supposed to have reached the bridge when his life was saved.

The old man, the same that I before mentioned as having

paid us a visit, dressed in a hunting coat and tall poled hat, was very ill, and news was brought in that as he was the most powerful man in the hills, there was to be a human sacrifice; the victim had been selected and was to be killed the instant old Reshin died. The excitement amongst the Garos was very great. It was before the expedition of 1873, and numbers of the Independent Garos were said to have assembled in Reshin's village which was only a few hours ride from the station. G. being in charge at the time, rode out to enquire into the matter. He had only one orderley with him, and I was terribly anxious during the time he was away. He found that some thousands of Garos had assembled in anticipation of Reshin's death. As there were not sufficient men of the Frontier Police that time in Tura to guard even the magazine, (the Deputy Commissioner \* having taken almost all of them with him on a journey to some village that required to be visited) the station was in the meantime guarded by Beldars, or coolies, who were armed with guns, but empty ones, as they could not be trusted with loaded fire-arms. Under these circumstances it was rather alarming to find such a collection of Garos within an easy march of the station; and had Reshin died, it would have been a very serious matter, as he was a staunch friend of the Government. Everyone in the village was doing Pujah, and the beating of drums, and blowing of horns was deafening. G. had some difficulty in reaching the house where Reshin was lying. The poor old man was surrounded by his numerous wives and children, who were all of them howling and crying. They said that Reshin had died three times. The fact was he had fainted from exhaustion; they had given him no food, convinced that he would die. G. had been told by the men who had brought in the news of Reshin's illness, that he had died three times, had guessed that he had probably fainted, and had taken some medicine with him. He gave the old man a dose and he revived a little, and G. then persuaded one of the wives to fetch a little food and feed him. He was better directly he had taken it, and was easily induced to order a portion of a fine bull that had been killed for the Pujah, to be carried to Tura and given to me to be converted into soup. G. left the medicine with the wives to be given to him in case he died again, and returned to Tura as quickly as he could, when we sent out a bottle of wonderful medicine that revived him, and as he afterwards said, "brought him back to life:" when he had actually reached the bridge to Chickmung. The medicine was a mixture of eggs and brandy, and would never have reached him if the messengers had know what it was. Strong soup was sent

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\* Who was officiating for Major Williamson on leave.



out as soon as possible, and greatly to our relief, and to the astonishment of all those who had assembled to see him die, Reshin recovered, and lived to marry another wife! His daughters by his first wife being his heirs according to Garo law, had looked on him as already dead, and had divided his property, but they did not appear to mind giving it back again.

According to the Garo law the first wife or her daughters inherit the property, and all the other wives fall to the share of the daughter's husbands. Very frequently a man marries a woman, and her daughter by a former husband becomes his wife also, unless she objects, in which case she can appeal to the PUNCHAYET of her village, and be released from her obligation to marry him. When a man marries he leaves his own village, and goes to live amongst his wife's relations, and if his father-in-law dies before him, he marries his own mother-in-law. Monogamy is not practised, but only the first wife inherits the property, thus—if a man marries three or four wives, (although, as a rule, they are content with two) they each bring him property. At his death all that property goes to the first wife, and at her death to her daughters, or failing daughters, to her son; if she leaves no children, her "Mahari" or mother's family claim it. The other wives receive nothing, except in the form of presents from the first wife. In whatever way a man accumulates property, it all goes to his first wife or to her "Mahari." Probably this custom has a good effect, as there is very little jealousy between the wives; and, as none of them can succeed in taking the place of the first wife, they generally live on pretty good terms with her, and there is much less domestic unhappiness than is usual where there is a plurality of wives.

The "Mahari" is a most curious and important feature in Garo life. The word means, "mother's family," and the Mahari consists of all the connections on the mother's side, no matter how distant they may be. Some Maharis are very large, and resemble tribes or clans more than families, as they count back several generations. They all have names, such as "Dhopo Mahari" "Khocksing Mahari," and every Garo knows to what Mahari he belongs. They are not allowed to marry anyone who belongs to the same Mahari; it is considered a great sin to do so, and the only Garo romance that came to my notice in eight years, was rudely crushed in the bud by the enamoured couple finding out that they belonged to the same Mahari.

The girl had been in my service about a year, and was a great favourite with us for her cheerful, bright disposition and willingness. She had grown tall and well formed while with us, and was better looking than most of her tribe. One of the orderlys

was an active, smart young Garo, called Mackhan. He and the girl Jaree, were well suited to each other, and they fell in love. The parents, however, objected to Jaree marrying the man of her choice, as, contrary to the usual custom, they had chosen a husband for her. The youth they had chosen was our cook-house boy, who could not be compared to Mackhan in any way. Jaree thought her lover was worth fighting for, and she held out bravely, although her father beat her cruelly to make her give him up. She took refuge in the Bungalow, and hardly dared to leave it except when out with the children—she knew no one would dare to molest her when she was out with our children and ayahs. However, one unlucky night the brother and her would-be husband, caught her, and dragged her into a hut, where they beat her unmercifully to make her promise to give up Mackhan. The girl was firm in her refusal, and her cries having brought the other servants to her assistance, she returned to the Bungalow. I was very angry at her having been so cruelly treated, and suggested that she had better settle the matter by marrying Mackhan at once. She said her people would kill her if she did, but still she determined to do so, and I was anxious to have them married, thinking that her people would have to make the best of it, and would leave her alone if once she was married. This was a very pretty little romance—but there it ended quite suddenly. Jaree informed me that she had discovered that Mackhan belonged to her Mahari—and they at once gave up all thoughts of marrying each other. They were not in the least heart-broken, but took it very quietly, and remained good friends. The cook-house boy did not profit by the discovery, however, for Jaree still refused to have anything to say to him. The sudden change in the attitude of these two lovers was wonderful, and showed what a powerful influence that of the "Mahari" is. When a man marries, his wife's Mahari becomes responsible for his good conduct. Thus if he steals, and it is found out, his wife's Mahari has to pay compensation; if he enters into a law-suit and loses the case—either when tried by village Panchayat or by a Magistrate—if he causes the death of, or seriously injures any one, his wife's Mahari has to pay for it. As the wife inherits all the property, so she—or her Mahari—has to pay all losses from whatever causes, with very few exceptions. One exception is, if a man wilfully destroys property belonging to another, without any benefit accruing to his wife—also if he forsakes his wife—in such cases his own Mahari must pay compensation. If he borrows money on his own responsibility, without the consent of his wife or his family, he must pay the debt himself even if he has to sell himself, and become a slave to do so. If he



wilfully enters into a dispute against the wishes of his wife and her family, he must abide the consequences.

In every village there is a "Nokfantee," or bachelor's house, where all the young men live until they are chosen by some young girl and are married and taken into her family. The choice of a mate rests with the girls, but the parents arrange every thing else, and perhaps this is the reason why early marriage, as practised by the natives of other parts of India, are not common amongst them.

I have never heard of any particular marriage ceremony beyond the killing of a cock and hen with one stroke of the sword. This is done in the presence of the wedding guests, and the entrails are examined, and are supposed to fortell the future good or bad luck of the newly married couple. There is always a great deal of feasting and drinking at a wedding. Slight as the ceremony is, it is very binding; and the fact that the friends of the bride or bridegroom settle the amount of compensation to be paid should either party desert the other, and that the couple themselves declare that should they not be faithful to each other, they will be liable to pay this fine—is a great check on immorality, especially as the fine is a very heavy one and has to be paid by the Mahari of the culprit, thus making it the interest of everyone to prevent either the husband or the wife rendering them liable to pay the fine.

There are a good many slaves in the hills, but the slavery is divested of all its usual horrors. The slaves frequently run away from their owners, and remain in other villages without provoking any undue wrath or punishment. It is not at all unusual for a man to sell himself for a certain number of years, or for life, to pay a debt. The slaves are not over-worked, as they generally work with the the men of the house, and if they are forced to do anything they do not like, they run away. There is no disgrace attached to the fact of a man being a slave, and the old Luskah I have already mentioned as the most influential man in the district, was himself a slave at one time of his life. The whole race is very independent, and slaves or not, they will only do what they please; no amount of persuasion will induce one of them to do work as a domestic servant that does not suit him; and although they are good tempered, they are obstinate.

Within the last few years there is a great difference observable in the Garos who live near Tura. Many of them visit the station, and bring all the produce of their cultivations in for sale. These consist of cotton (in large quantities) Indian corn, and vegetables. Some, who have nothing of their own for sale, go down to the nearest hâts, or weekly markets, and bring up fowls, &c., for sale at Tura. A hât is now established

at Tura itself, and a brisk trade carried on ; and cloth of various kinds and colors, such as delight the eyes of all savages, are easily obtainable. Consequently the exceedingly primitive costume of the Garo, is now frequently supplemented by a gay colored cloth, flung not ungracefully round the shoulders and chest. Government gives away a large number of cloths to the Luckmas or head men of the villages. A school has been established by the American Missionaries and is doing well, and civilization is gradually creeping into the country : Will it improve it ? They are a happy harmless race as they are now. Their wants are few, and are all supplied by their own industry. They grow enough rice for their own consumption, or cotton, which they exchange for rice ; they occasionally indulge in a feast, at which they partake of excellent beef, some of the best in India, and they always have as much liquor as they can want. They do not rear cattle, but they fatten their young bulls to perfection. They feed them on the refuse from the rice that they make their liquor of, and on very young bamboo shoots, and keep them tied up on small Machans, (bamboo platforms.) These young bulls are frequently made to fight, the Garos being very fond of a good bull fight. Their flesh is tender and good, a great contrast to that of the Naga cattle, which is all muscle, as hard as leather, and as tough.

The rivers are full of good fish, and there is excellent fishing to be had in them, but the present method of catching the fish is a very barbarous one, and likely to destroy them all. A species of poison is thrown into the river, which has the effect of stupifying the fish, and they are then caught in large quantities. There is also a less objectionable way of catching them by means of baskets. A bamboo network is erected right across the river, with funnel shaped baskets every few yards ; the fish in trying to pass the network enter the large end of the baskets, and then being unable to turn are caught. The scenery on some of the rivers is beautiful, the bright, clear water dashing along over the large boulders, or forming clear still pools, with the graceful foliage of the jungle that grows to the very edge of the water reflected in it. Sometimes a bridge is thrown across, consisting of a single tree, over which long strings of Garos pass with their large baskets of cotton on their backs, as fearlessly and easily as if it was a well built stone one. Over the larger and broader rivers, cane bridges are thrown, which sway about and look and feel too, very unsafe, but which are really strong and safe for the sure-footed race who have to cross them. After heavy rains the rivers are flooded, and rush along at a furious rate. The small stream close to the station, that has



frequently less than a foot of water at the ford, becomes a furious torrent after a storm, and on one occasion was impassible for days. One of our cows having incautiously attempted to drink with her fore legs in the water, was swept away by the force of the current, and we lost her: her legs were broken, and no doubt some lucky Garos had a good meal off her.

They are fond of flesh of every description, only a few villages refusing to eat even elephant's flesh. Rats are considered great dainties, better even than half-hatched eggs, but not so good as a fat puppy or a pig. Their mode of cooking a dog is disgustingly dirty. They give it a large feed of rice, and immediately kill it and cook it whole, stuffing and all, and eat every morsel of it.

They are not good sportsmen and never kill game fairly. They trap it, and then kill it. The traps for deer are generally made at the opening in the fence that surrounds their cultivations, as that is where the deer leap over to get at the young *dhân*. The trap consists of a pit some feet deep, and about two feet wide at the top, and seven or eight feet long. They slope inwards towards the bottom to only half a span in breadth, so that when a deer or a wild pig springs over the low break in the fence, that serves as an opening, it falls into the pit, and with the weight of its fall, becomes firmly wedged in. The top of these traps being lightly covered with grass and small branches, they are well concealed, and sometimes human beings as well as wild animals fall into them. This is of no consequence if they are properly made, as a man or woman can easily scramble out of them, but some Garos will not take the trouble to dig them properly, and merely make a large hole, at the bottom of which they drive in sharp bamboo stakes. These traps are dangerous, and most villages object strongly to anyone making them, as lives are frequently lost. If anyone is killed in one of these traps—and it is almost certain death to fall into one—the relatives can claim a heavy compensation, and the man who made it is disgraced in the eyes of friends. If a child falls in, the man will frequently pay the parents a large sum to keep it quiet, so that he may not be disgraced.

The elephant traps are made on the same principle but very much larger, and are more substantially covered, so that any lighter animal, or any person walking over them would not fall in, but the covering gives way under the weight of an elephant. It is said that in some instances the sudden fall kills the animal, but I presume this is only when the pit is staked.

The elephant traps are made far away from the villages and cultivations, as a number of these animals collect round

the one that is trapped. They cannot assist it in any way, but they do not leave it until it dies, and unless killed by the fall, it may linger on until it dies of starvation. If a solitary elephant is caught, the Garos throw branches of trees on its head, until it is powerless, and cannot use its trunk; they then throw earth into the sides of the pit, and stamp it down. The pressure soon kills the poor beast, and it is then cut up and the flesh is cooked and eaten. If the inhabitants of the villages near the trap are amongst the few who object to eating elephant flesh, the tusks are cut out and the body burnt: I was told that it is by no means difficult to burn it, as there is generally so much fat that it burns readily. There are no sportsmen amongst the Garos. They never either catch or kill small game. Partridges, peafowl, pheasants, a few quails and jungle fowl are to be had in the hills, but the sport is very poor; without a good dog it is impossible to put up anything, and when the birds rise and are shot, they fall into dense jungle, and even a good retriever often fails to find them. The dogs cannot be allowed to hunt far afield, as there are numbers of leopards, and now also tigers, ready to snap them up. It was a curious fact, that until a cart road was made to the plains, there were no tigers in the hills. When the carts began to come up, the tigers followed the bullocks, and became very troublesome. The best shooting grounds are over the cultivations when the dhân has just been cut. Elephants are to be found in great numbers, but of course they cannot be shot, and as government has recently made large catches, and great interest is now taken in elephant catching, and there is a heavy fine for trapping or killing them, the Garos must find it difficult to have a grand elephant feast. It is impossible to shoot the leopards or tigers, as they cannot be followed even for a few yards into the jungles; they have to be poisoned, or trapped. One man we had—a Goorkah—was very clever at setting spring guns for them, and shot several for us. The leopards are large, handsome ones, and we once heard of a black one, but not having seen it, I cannot vouch for the veracity of our informants, although they had a good opportunity of seeing it, for it sprang from the bank on an unfortunate constable who was travelling up the Tura with two of his fellow-constables, and dealt him a blow on the head that scalped him. The two others frightened it away and rescued their comrade's body and brought it in, and they said the leopard was quite black: as it was broad daylight they could see well. The leopards are very daring, and even enter dwelling houses, so the Garos have good reason to build their houses high up from the ground; those that are erected



in their cultivations for them to occupy when watching their crops, are perched up very high, on a tree generally, the fork of the tree being used as the main supports.

The climate of the Garo hills is said to be very unhealthy, but I am inclined to believe that it has been unnecessarily maligned. Europeans who wish to keep their health must not go there with the idea of saving and living economically, for good food and comfortable living is absolutely necessary. With good living, plenty of exercise and moderate care, Tura is by no means an unhealthy Station, and is many degrees cooler than the plains districts.

ESME.

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### ART III.—THE PANJAB POLICE. PART II.

A SERIES of papers which we put forward many years ago in the Lahore representative of public opinion on the defects of the administration of criminal justice, induced Sir James Stephen to turn his attention to the Indian system of Criminal Procedure. After the publication of our papers, an Act was drafted to supersede the old Code (Act XXV of 1861); and Act X of 1872 was ultimately passed. One of our suggestions was that every report of an offence of whatever sort made to a Police Officer, should after reduction into writing, be signed, sealed, or marked by the person making it. We gave the following reasons for our suggestion:—"In numerous charges against the Police, we had considerable experience of the necessity of such a precaution as this. Men from whom property had been stolen, frequently came to the Magistrate in camp on finding the Police would not assist them. A common plea of the Police was that the complainant never reported the theft. It was generally found that the Police were in league with the thieves, and relied on being able to show by the evidence of numerous witnesses, that the complainant had never come to the Police station. To allow, therefore, the complainant to see that his plaint was reduced to writing, would be a great step gained towards the repression of Police corruption."

Our suggestion was adopted *totidem verbis* in Section 112 of Act X of 1882. We, however, afterwards found from experience that our suggestion was not sufficient; but that owing to the character of the Police and the people of the country, it would be necessary to give a copy of the report to the person who had made it, so that he might be able to take it to the nearest educated person to verify. In this all experienced Police Officers agree with us, and they admit that it would be a real check on the Police. In process of time Act X of 1872 went the way of most Indian legislation, and was repealed. Act X of 1882, which has superseded it, requires (Section 154) that "every information relating to the commission of a cognizable offence, if given orally to an officer in charge of a Police Station, shall be reduced to writing by him or under his direction, and be read over to the informant; and every such information, whether given in writing or reduced to writing as aforesaid, shall be signed by the person giving it, and the *substance* thereof shall be entered in a book to be kept by such officer in such form as the Local Government may prescribe in this behalf." This section leaves



the matter in a muddle. Its first clause prescribes that the statement of the complainant shall be written down, apparently in full, in his presence, but that is never done in the Panjab.

It is very obvious that if the complainant's full statement were recorded in his presence and signed by him, the Police would subsequently not be able to manipulate the case as they pleased. They could not burke enquiry, or make up a different charge altogether from the one reported; and they could not make the report an excuse for proceeding against some innocent person they sought to injure. The Police department has always had sufficient address to set aside rules of law, whenever such a course tended, not to the repression of crime, but to the credit of the Police administration.

The departmental rule for receiving reports of cognizable offences in the Panjab is contained in the following paragraph of orders and rules of the Panjab Police Force "Every complaint preferred to, and every information or other intimation received by, an officer in charge of a cognizable offence, which he is empowered by law to investigate, shall be recorded as soon as practicable in the charge register book, and the counterfoils shall be despatched without any unnecessary delay, to the officers prescribed." This apparently complies with the letter of the law, but the practical procedure of the Police is quite the reverse, and has totally deceived the Government. Herein is the most glaring defect of Police administration. This charge register is a check-book containing foil and counterfoil, and neither of these affords sufficient space for the full record of the reports of complainants. But that is not all. Both foil and counterfoil are headed in the vernacular *khulasa-i-nalish*, or *abstract* of the complaint, so that it is not the real complaint that is ever recorded, but only such an abstract of it as the Police choose to make. The Police apparently comply with the provision of the second part of the section of the Criminal Procedure Code already cited, but they totally ignore the first part, which apparently requires that the full report should be recorded; and it remains a complete dead letter in the Panjab. It might be urged, that the statements of several complainants are false or long-winded, and so cannot be conveniently recorded in full. To this our reply is, that the falser they are the better, as then an offence has been committed only by the complainant, who can be easily prosecuted for making a false charge to the Police. And if the objection be, that the reports are long-winded or not to the point, we say that country paper, pens, and ink are cheap; and that it would not be a grievous burden on the Police to subtract from their hours of daily slumber, and oblige them to write the statements of complainants in full.

But this again is not all. The Police departmental orders go on to state, that "such record," that is, a record of the substance of the complainant's report in the "charge register," shall be so made "only when such complaint, information, or otherwise amounts to an offence, *and is not on the face it malicious, absurd, and untrue.*" If to the sapient and immaculate mind of the Deputy Inspector or Sergeant in charge of a Police station, a report of a cognizable offence *appears to be false*, it is not to be entered in the charge register book at all! A brief abstract of it shall be made in the station diary!!

These rules may have been the result of inexperience on the part of the officers who framed them, but such inexperience is to us marvellous. Nobody, we believe, who had associated for even three months with the natives of India, could, if acting in good faith, give a native even in the position of a Deputy Inspector or Sergeant of Police the option of deciding off-hand whether a complaint of a cognizable offence formally and deliberately made to him was true or false, reasonable or absurd. To allow the subordinate Police this option is simply to suggest to them to suppress reports of crime; and every Magistrate who has turned his attention to the subject knows that this is the result. Injured persons receive no redress, and the thieves bribe the Police to do nothing. But looking at the matter from another point of view, the more false and absurd the charge is, as we have already stated, the better and the greater reason for enquiring into it with the object of punishing the person who made it, and thus doing some thing towards improving public morality.

The system of reporting non-cognizable offences prescribed by the Criminal Procedure Code is equally bad. When information is given to an officer in charge of a Police station of the commission, within the limits of such station, of a non-cognizable offence, he "shall enter in a book to be kept as aforesaid the substance of such information, and refer the informant to the Magistrate." Here again it is the *substance* of the complaint that is to be entered. In the Panjab, reports of non-cognizable offences are recorded in a book called the station diary, which, like the charge register, also consists of a foil and counterfoil; and it is certain that in this only the very briefest abstract is ever recorded, and indeed there are departmental orders to that effect. The complainant's signature is not necessary at all by the new Criminal Procedure Code, so that in this register, at any rate, the Police will soon be able to write whatever reports they please. And they are rarely slow to avail themselves of "any thing good" that the law and departmental rules allow them.



As a matter of fact, the great majority of complainants cannot read and write, and know very little of the Criminal Procedure Code. Even in the case of cognizable offences, the substance of the complainant's statement is rarely ever written in his presence or at the time of making it. The Police order above quoted says, that it shall be written "as soon as practicable." It is easy enough to find reasons for not writing it immediately, that is to say, as soon as practicable, if the Police decide on visiting the spot, they, as often as they can, write the *khulása-nálísh*, or substance of the complaint afterwards, and then, of course, they can give it whatever shape they please. If they cannot get the seal or mark of the complainant, when they have written the substance of the report at their own convenience, a mark is easily made, and its authenticity will be proved by the whole staff of the Police station. If the Police decide on taking no action, they represent that the complaint is a frivolous one, or they twist it into a non-cognizable offence, and write the substance of it in the station diary, or, more convenient for them still, they do not report the complaint at all, if they think such a course will be attended with impunity. The report, if written, has by this time arrived at a stage when, not only could the Magistrate or District Superintendent of Police not understand what actually occurred, but even the very man who made the report, would fail to recognise it.

It would, however, perhaps not be fair to cast all the blame on the Police Department for the rules framed for its subordinates, which allow them to refuse to investigate cognizable offences, unless, indeed, the Police themselves shaped the code on this subject, which appears to have been the case. The Criminal Procedure Code gives the Police power to refuse to investigate cognizable offences, subject to such explanation as they think fit to give. It distinctly provides that "when any information as to the commission of any cognizable offence is given against any person by name, and the case is not of a serious nature, the officer in charge of a Police station need not proceed in person, or depute a subordinate officer to make an investigation on the spot; and if it appear to the officer in charge of a Police station, that there is no sufficient ground for entering on an investigation, he shall not investigate the case." We should think it would be easy enough to invent several reasons for not entering on an investigation, if it appeared less irksome and more profitable not to do so. Indeed, it may be taken for granted, that the suppression of complaints in the manner described, is the custom of the Police, so far as it can safely be practised; and this again depends on the knowledge, the ability, and the vigilance of District Superintendents.

The total result of the whole system of procedure and reporting of offences is, as every Magistrate of experience knows, that Police reports can rarely be trusted for a real statement of what occurred. If a man reports that half a dozen bullocks of his were stolen over-night, this is recorded as the straying (*awárgi*) of one bullock from his herd; and then the Police add, that he does not desire to urge the matter (*Pairawí nahín karna chahtá hai*). Now in the early years, at any rate, of the present Police system, it may fairly be assumed that men went to the Police station to ask for assistance, and to try at least to recover their stolen property. In process of time, as the failures of the Police and the hardships they inflicted on innocent persons by their enquiries became known, men from whom property had been stolen, no doubt began to report offences to the Police as a matter of form, to satisfy the desire of the lambardár and chankídár on whom it is incumbent to bring certain crimes to official notice. But more often, perhaps, in recent times reports are made to the Police in order to put pressure on the thieves, and thus facilitate the private recovery of stolen property. In any case, the Police report to the effect that the injured persons represented their cattle as strayed and desired no assistance, is rarely a real statement either of what actually occurred or of what was reported at the Police station. To such an extent is this manipulation of reports practised, that we have actually known murders disposed of as assaults in a line or a line-and-a-half of station diaries, which are intended, it will be remembered, for the report of offences not cognizable by the Police.

But this is not all. Acts which are not punishable by any code are metamorphosed into offences. Civil complaints regarding marriages and betrothals are interfered in by the Police as cognizable offences of kidnapping from lawful guardianship. If a libertine wishes to secure a widow or a desirable maiden, he goes to the Police, reports that the woman is in the family way, and means to procure abortion; and he gets her put under the supervision of a friendly lambardár who allows him to have access to her. And so on: every form of abomination is practised by the Police owing to the present lax system of reporting offences. It is in vain under existing rules to try to punish the Police for not recording the statements of complainants in full. They refer to the *khulása* or abstract prescribed for them by the heads of their department, and they defy the Magistrate. If they do not record any statement at all, they will prove that the complainant never presented himself at the Police office; and if they record a cognizable offence as a non-cognizable one



in the station diary, they will prove by their own men and witnesses on whom they can count, that what they recorded as an abstract was the sum total of the complainant's words.

All this must, as stated, be altered, if there is to be any real check on the Panjab Police. A proper system of reporting offences, by which the original statements of aggrieved persons could be obtained, would be far more important to society and the popularity of the British administration, than any measure that has been introduced in recent times. The Subordinate Police must not be allowed to draw any subtle distinctions of their own between *reports* of cognizable and *complaints* of non-cognizable offences made to them. They must be obliged to write down *in extenso in one book*, every report or complaint, of whatever sort, which is made to them, get it signed, sealed, or marked by the person reporting, and then give him an attested copy of it for easy verification. The Subordinate Police would, of course, have still the power to enquire into cognizable offences ; but, if they erred, the Sadr authorities, with the full statements of complainants before them, could easily decide what cases were, and what cases were not, to be sent for trial before the Magistrate. We have thought over this subject for many years, and discussed it with numerous Police officers ; and all have agreed that this is the most effectual check on the Subordinate Police that can be proposed. It may not be a perfect one, but, in view of what may be said in its favour, and of the existing highly unsatisfactory and delusive system of reporting offences, it certainly might receive a fair trial.

The statistics given regarding the burglaries by Pesháwarís in Delhí and Mírat, and recently even in Simlá, are interesting from a Police point of view ; and no doubt a detective system, such as Colonel Ewart proposes, would be highly useful to trace such offenders. But what if we first begin at home ? We may be quite certain that before the Pesháwarís left their inhospitable abodes, they were thoroughly trained to the ways of crime under the appellate system and the police procedure. If they had not found the existing order of things favoured thieves, they doubtless would have turned their talents in some other direction, and it would not have been necessary to put detectives on their track.

It is hopeless to expect that the Panjab Police Department will take up this question of the manner of reporting offences. The first result of a reform would be to show the large amount of crime that really exists, and the impotence of the Police. No Inspector-General, so long as the option is left him, will consent to do this. His aim is to show as good working as possible during his own term of office, and not to propose checks on his department which the legislature has not had sufficient knowledge of Indian administrative detail to impose without reference to him.

In the matter of reporting offences, the Panjab Police are far the most backward in the Bengal Presidency, and perhaps in the whole of India. As early as 1866 the District Superintendent of Police in the North-Western Provinces was ordered to give the Magistrate of the district a daily abstract in English of all crimes reported, and other matters of importance. The same rule was prescribed in Lower Bengal in 1870. There is no such order in the Panjab, and there is practically nothing to show that the District Superintendent of Police peruses his daily reports, or does so with intelligence.

"In the North-Western Provinces every person making a charge, whether accepted or refused, or making a report, or laying information of any kind, will be invariably furnished by the officer in charge of the station with a receipt duly filled up out of the check book provided for that purpose." This is what we have been advocating for the Panjab. In Lower Bengal, "if a Magistrate directs a cognizable case to be investigated by the Police, and the Police officer has not received any previous information regarding the crime, he shall, on receipt of the Magistrate's order, prepare a first information report." The system of reporting offences in Lower Bengal we consider perfect. It is what we have been advocating for the Panjab, even indeed before we knew that it existed in Lower Bengal. "The second part of the report should be *verbatim* the story told by the informant. If the complaint is given in writing, the original paper should be attached to the form. After so recording, the Police officer should add such additional matter elicited by comment or interrogation as may be required to explain any doubtful or unintelligible points in the *verbatim* statement. In cases of delay in bringing complaints, explanation of such delay should always be demanded; so also vague statements of suspicion against parties accused should never be recorded without enquiring the reason of such suspicion. Careful interrogation of an informant tends to strengthen a true complaint and expose a false one. Provided that, while so examining an informant, the Police officer shall record both question and answer." It would be fortunate for the Panjab, if such an order as this were ever issued to its Police.

The Police Department, as it exists in the Panjab, is but a whited sepulchre. It is not an uncommon thing to hear remarked, "The career of a regular soldier is one of honor, that of a constable of dishonour."\* A short time since we asked a native soldier who called on us, why he preferred his post to an appointment in the local Police. He quickly and laconically replied,—"*Kyunki hamare mahakma men koi daghabazi nahin*

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\* Report of the District Superintendent of Police of Gurgaon.



hai"—because in my department there is no rascality. And we have often, when recommending some young man to enter the constabulary, heard it described as a *ganda mahakma* or dirty department. When a youth of nice education enters the Police, he for some time endeavours to act honestly, but the forces against him are too strong, and he is carried along with the tide. He in process of time finds it much easier and pleasanter not to report at all, but draw his pay, enjoy his *aram*, and take money from thieves for doing nothing. The Police are often punished for this, but the cases rarely stand in appeal; and Magistrates soon become tired of taking up charges against them.

By an extraordinary fatality the very appellate system, which, by turning criminals loose on society, disheartens and finally corrupts the Police, has its counterbalancing clemencies for the Police themselves thus corrupted. In one district we collected statistics of the result of charges against the Police. For three years twenty-two members of the Police force were convicted and punished by the orders of eight different Magistrates of different grades. Of the twenty-two who were punished, the sentences of thirteen were appealable. These thirteen men all appealed, and *in every case their appeal was accepted*. Now any one or more of the Magistrates may have been hasty, or ill-judging, or to stretch the imagination further, even malicious; but how about eight different Magistrates of different degrees, of different nationalities, and who certainly were incapable from their temperaments and for other reasons, of conspiring together for any common object? If the eight Magistrates were all in the wrong and the Appellate Courts above them all in the right, then the Police of the district were nearly immaculate for three years. We are inclined to question this conclusion, seeing that the most orthodox Christian divines admit that the age of miracles has departed. The Subordinate Police do not of course always enjoy absolute impunity of this description, but that the impunity is very great has, we believe, already been recognized by all Subordinate Magistrates and by Police Officer themselves.

A good District Superintendent of Police will keep his Police up to the mark by departmental punishment, but, as far as our experience goes, his immediate departmental superior, the Deputy Inspector-General, looking on his force as a Military one, becomes animated with *esprit de corps*, and refuses to believe anything against his subordinates; and, in most cases that we have ever known, reverses the orders of the District Superintendent. The Deputy Inspector-General knows well that if he supports the District Superintendent of Police, he runs the risk of receiving censure from the Inspector-General. Dead men tell no tales, neither do subordinates cry out when their orders are

reversed, unless, indeed, they are personally injured ; so when the order of a District Superintendent of Police is reversed by the Deputy Inspector-General, there is nothing further heard of the matter. The District Superintendent of Police soon grows tired of his efforts to keep his men up to the mark, and ends by playing a double game between his Deputy Inspector-General and the Magistrate of the District. He partially obeys both, but he plays one against the other. He does not wish to disobey or displease the Magistrate, but he knows that his advancement depends on his Deputy Inspector-General.

From a long experience of the Police Department we must say, that whenever we have known Deputy Inspectors-General exercise their appellate authority in departmental matters, it has generally been exercised for the worse. It has almost always been either in opposition to the District Officer or the District Superintendent of Police. Only quite lately we heard of a case in which a District Superintendent reduced a Sergeant for tearing leaves out of a Police register, so that the official in whose responsible custody it was—a man whom he wished to injure—might be punished. The Deputy Inspector-General on appeal restored the man to his position, and seemed to think the little matter a harmless departmental eccentricity. The man was transferred, and he abetted a precisely similar act in his new position. With great difficulty could the District Superintendent of Police secure his transfer from his charge. That District Superintendent of Police will probably allow things for the future to take their own course. Policemen who are punished in one Police jurisdiction are generally, but not always, transferred to another. This hinders a stir or agitation of any magnitude being made. The officer from whom the punished policeman is transferred, is fairly well satisfied ; and the officer to whom he is transferred, is frequently not aware of his antecedents, or, if he is, he is not in a position to object to his services.

Deputy Inspectors-General are actuated by various and intelligible motives. There is the *esprit de corps* already mentioned ; there is the difficulty of recruiting the Police owing to the low pay of its subordinate grades and other reasons ; there is the striving for good results in yearly reports ; there is the dread of the sharp pens of the assistants of the Inspector-General ; and there is the hopelessness of repressing crime under the existing judicial system. The result is that the Deputy Inspectors-General array themselves, as with a garment, with jesuitical unbelief in the defects of their department. In view, however, of the existing state of the Police, of the terror they are to the community, and of the danger they are to the Government in the popular discontent they cause,



there appears to be very little doubt that the question of the use of Deputy Inspectors-General must ere long receive a solution. If they are removed or reduced in number, they will, we hope, be provided for either in kindred appointments which exist in the political department, or allowed to do duty with the army to which they originally belonged. But whatever is to be done in the matter of Deputy Inspectors-General, there is a crying necessity to curtail their appellate jurisdiction.

It is curious to follow the varying fortunes of Deputy Inspectors-General in some of the provinces of the Bengal Presidency. For a few years after the promulgation of Act V of 1861, Deputy Inspectors-General received and went through the form of analyzing criminal statistics; they were supposed to watch the fluctuations of crime, and did really watch the fluctuation of *reports* of crime; and it was considered an especial part of their duty "to watch and trace all cases of organized or ramified crime." It would have been a very good thing if Deputy Inspectors-General had done all this, but, in Bengal, Commissioners and Magistrates held irreverent doubts regarding the perfection of the new police system, and threw discredit on the industry and capacity of the Deputy Inspectors-General, and on the *nakshas* manufactured in their offices. A Commission was then appointed to scrutinise and report upon its Police establishment. In 1864 the Bengal Government, on the report of the Commission, decided that the Deputy Inspectors-General were not to burden themselves with statistics of crime, but were to confine themselves solely to the inspection and discipline of the force.

In the North-Western Provinces the same year, the Deputy Inspectors-General, one of whom had been originally appointed to each of six revenue Divisions, were found too many for the administration, and their number was reduced to two. In 1876 the Civil Administration Committee proposed that the number of Deputy Inspectors-General should be reduced to one, and that the powers hitherto possessed by that class of officers should be vested in Commissioners. The Government of the North-Western Provinces the same year passed the following decision:—"Every Commissioner shall be *ex-officio* a Deputy Inspector-General under section 4 of Act V of 1861, within the limits of his divisional jurisdiction. To the Inspector-General, and to the Deputies other than Commissioners, will be left ordinarily all purely departmental functions; to Commissioners will be delegated the control of all other police matters belonging to the office of Deputy Inspector-General within their respective Divisions."

Five years afterwards the Bengal Government, knowing

thoroughly what it was about, made proposals for the abolition of the separate departmental control of the Police, and for the transfer of the powers of the Inspector-General and the Deputy Inspector-General to the Commissioners of Divisions. The Bengal Government wrote,—“There can be little doubt that in dealing with ordinary crime, the Bengal Police system has not come up to the expectation of its framers. There is a general consensus of opinion as to its practical failure in this respect, and the Lieutenant-Governor believes that this is in a great measure due to the want of local direction in this particular point. The Deputy Inspectors-General having had no magisterial and judicial training, have naturally devoted themselves rather to the enforcement of discipline and internal organization, than to the cultivation of detective ability and the acquisition of intimate local knowledge.”

Lord Lawrence, a practical administrator acquainted with the people, eagerly welcomed the letter of the Bengal Government, and circulated it to all local governments with a strong hint that the proposals of the Bengal Government on the subject of the Police should be universally adopted. The private influence of Inspectors-General—an influence still excessive with all Local Governors—was, however, too strong for the Governor-General. The Local Governors took care of Dowb, and of their *protégés*, the heads of the Police Department; and it was only in Assam, which was about to be formed into a separate Province, and in which there happened to be no *protégés* with vested interests and no authorities strong enough to object, that the experiment of abolishing the separate control of the Police was determined on.

On the occurrence of the financial crisis of 1876, Lord Mayo, acting on the advice of Sir John Strachey, recorded a minute to the effect that the office of Deputy Inspectors-General had been universally condemned as useless, and he directed the abolition of the appointment held by such officers throughout India. All the Local Governments again, with the exception of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, which had previously reduced its Deputy Inspectors-General to two, did disloyal battle for the Deputy Inspectors-General. The result was that all other administrations of the Bengal Presidency retained their Deputy Inspectors-General. In Bengal there had been originally six such officers. They were now reduced to two as the result of Lord Mayo's admirable minute.

In the Panjab four Duputy Inspectors-General were appointed under the Police organization of 1861. Of these one has since been reduced. This was because the railway system was sufficiently extended to admit of one circle (Multan) being



absorbed without departmental inconvenience. There can be little doubt that the Panjab Police still look on themselves as an army and a separate department altogether from the civil staff of the Province, however the Panjab Government in some amiable circulars on the subject has sought to mildly reason them into the contrary belief.

We readily admit that Deputy Inspectors-General are necessary to maintain the military organization of the Police Force, should this be deemed necessary. We have seen that the promoters of the existing system, immediately after the Indian Mutiny, when the defects of the native army were glaring and painful, had in view the creation of rural military forces which would be more manageable than the old native army, and whose services would be at once accessible when necessary to the civil power. But what the value of the present Police as a Military Force would be in the event of a popular insurrection, is a matter fairly open to discussion. At the time of the great Sepoy War, officers of regiments were found totally unacquainted with the temper and feelings of their men; and it would therefore be nothing surprising if the Government cherished the belief, that the Police as a body would be loyal in the hour of need to the British Government. This may be so, but the contrary opinion is widely entertained. Lord Napier of Magdala, who was for many years in civil employ, and who for this and for other reasons must have known what he was writing about, described the Police Force as "useless in time of peace and dangerous in time of war," but, perhaps he spoke with professional prejudice.

We have, therefore, extended the range of our enquiries to the Police Department itself, and we fear that the unanimous opinion of all candid and experienced Police Officers is, that the loyalty of the Police could not be depended on. They are badly paid, as we shall see further on; the bonds of discipline are relaxed as they were in the old Pandy army; every policeman—we beg his pardon! Police officer, as a constable is styled from the moment of enlistment—knows that his District Superintendent of Police is generally powerless to do anything but threaten him; that orders of punishment will be reversed by higher authority; and if they are not reversed, the person punished can do his superior officer tangible and serious harm by attacking him anonymously, as was also the custom in the old Pandy army; and it is asked, why or wherefore should the Police be loyal? To ourselves the Police have always appeared in the same light as the mercenary levies described by Machiavelli. Sono disunite, ambiziose e senza disciplina, infedeli, gagliarde tra gli amici, tra li nemici vili; non hanno timore di Dio, non fede con gli nomini, e tanto si differisce



la rovina quanto si differisce l'assalto ; e nella pace sei spogliato da lora, nella guerra da'nemici. The Mutiny of 1857 was a war of soldiers, not generally participated in by the people, but a Police mutiny would be an universal insurrection, because, being closely associated with the people, they would carry with them the masses and inflame their minds against the Government.

Colonel Ewart, in a vernacular pamphlet which accompanies one of the appendices to his proposal for a Detective Police system, thus describes some of the irregularities practised by the Police, the result of their being practically beyond the control of any authority, human or divine. Colonel Ewart has had great experience as a Police Officer, and his statements may be relied on as correct.—On the occurrence of a serious offence, the police endeavour to prove the statement of the complainant to be false, and they proceed in such a manner as to throw a veil over the whole occurrence. This is done in a variety of ways. The Police send for, perhaps, as many as fifty of the principal inhabitants of the village, and call upon them to furnish supplies. Fowl, ghi, flour, milk, vegetables, and kids, pour in as offerings to the offended minions of the law. After a "square meal" the Police tell the people that no offence has really been committed. The complainant maintains that he has suffered actual loss. Upon this the Police indent for further supplies. The Zaildar and Lamberdar then interfere. An understanding is arrived at by which the complainant is induced to state that no theft has been committed. The police receive further presents from the complainant or the head man of the village, take their departure, and report that no offence has been committed. It has been seen that law and departmental rules actually allow them to resort to these expedients. On their report to their officer that the charge is false, he is satisfied and makes no further enquiry.

When the Police hear from any source, whether public rumour or the report of a village watchman, of the occurrence of a cognizable offence which the injured party does not desire to prosecute on account of the personal annoyance caused him, or the suspension of his business, the Police of their own motion make a show of obliging him to take action. This is done by compelling him to go to the Police Station, and there charging him with an endeavour to suppress a report of crime, with being in league with the thieves, and with having compounded felony. The unfortunate sufferer is very glad to buy off the police by making them the largest present of which he is capable.

On the occasion of even a *bonâ fide* enquiry, the police collect at the house of the complainant, or take their seats on charpoy?



on the neighbouring highways, and so annoy the complainant and his neighbours, and hinder them from pursuing their daily avocations, that the complainant is at last very glad to come to terms with the Police and send them away. This is done in a variety of ways, such as endeavouring to make out to the Police that there was no ground for complaint, that it was all a mistake, and that nothing was really stolen. Failing the success of these tactics, an illegal gratification is given to the Police, whose absence is then, according to the Celtic proverb, the best company of the villagers.

Sometimes when the complainant has really suffered great loss and he is anxious for a Police investigation, the Police cause him such dishonour by interfering with his female relatives, or by enquiring into his pecuniary transactions, that he is glad to get rid of them at any cost. If the Police see a good-looking woman, they tell her male relatives that she has a paramour whom she introduced into the house, that it was through her the paramour committed theft or house-breaking, as the case may be; and they threaten to send the woman to Court and expose her. When her relatives find this complexion put on their loss, they buy the Police off and save themselves from persecution and the disgrace of their female relative. The manner in which they persecute the complainant by enquiring into his pecuniary transactions is this: They pretend he is in debt, and that to evade payment to his creditors he has falsely reported the theft or robbery. His books are then demanded, and all his private pecuniary transactions read out for the benefit of the public in general and the Police in particular. Sometimes the Police try to make out that the alleged stolen property consisted of pledged articles, and that, to wrongfully misappropriate them, the complainant reported the offence. This is calculated to shake the complainant's credit, and he is glad to bribe the Police to depart, and not further disgrace him. When this conduct on the part of the Police becomes known in the neighbourhood, of course, people will do anything rather than report offences.

To bring charges to conviction, the Police apply torture to suspicious persons, or they induce them to confess under promise of pardon or acquittal. Innocent persons are often thus condemned. Even if the innocent man be hanged, the Police feel no compunction so long as they receive favourable reports in their service books, and the good opinion of their superior officers.

If an offence occurs near a boundary, whether of a British district or a Protected State, the local Police employed to investigate report that it did not occur in their own jurisdiction. The object of this is to give the parties time to settle the



case. In any such settlement, of course, the Police will not be forgotten by the thieves. The Railway Police belonging to the different jurisdictions of Shikarpur, Bahawalpur, Bilochistan, &c., are said to be particular adepts at this particular sort of procedure.

The lower class of constables who are of necessity first despatched to the scene of serious occurrences for enquiry, are bought over, and when a senior Officer has subsequently time to visit the spot, the case is found, as it is termed, spoiled, and a conviction can in no wise be obtained. The occasion let slip can never again be seized.

وقت از دست رفته و تیر از کمان جسته باز بدست نمی آید

Even if the case is then brought before the court, a skilful pleader can always secure the acquittal of the accused.

The above dishonest procedure on the part of the police is, as stated, given on the authority of Colonel Ewart, but a whole volume might be written on the subject, which would be in no wise less interesting reading than the once famous "Revelations of Paunchkhouri Khan."\* Suffice it to say, that we fear there is no check whatever on the Police under the existing system, and that there is no such cause of popular discontent throughout India as the oppression practised by the Police under an alien administration, whose officers are yearly becoming more and more unacquainted with the people they are called upon to govern.

We have now enumerated three causes of the demoralization of the Police, namely, the judicial appellate system, the system of reporting offences laid down by law and departmental rules, and the interference of the Deputy Inspectors-General with departmental punishments. To these causes are to be added the low scale of pay drawn by the constables, particularly those of the second class. If the first three causes of the demoralization of the Police did not exist, probably the low scale of pay would not have been really material at the time it was originally fixed; but since then prices have greatly risen, and what was sufficient for the Policeman twenty years ago, is totally insufficient for him now. He, therefore, makes use of every avenue of illicit gain allowed him, until finally he adopts the profession of thief and house-breaker himself, as it is popularly believed he has done in the Lahore and other districts in which the Subordinate Police have been unduly supported by their own department.

On the subject of the low pay of the Police, nothing more

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\* This remarkable work is unfortunately now out of print, but a very full abstract of it by Mr. Theobald will be found in the "Selections from the Calcutta Review" for April 1882.



or better can be said than that contained in a letter of the Inspector-General of Police a year ago to the Panjab Government—"The question of recruiting for the Police has been a matter of extreme difficulty for years. The steady growth of prices since 1863, the increase of wages for unskilled labor, and the larger market for menials of all kinds afforded by the extension of railway enterprise, have greatly depreciated the pay and position of a Police constable. The grant of good conduct pay on more favourable terms to the army, and the gift of free kits and other advantages in 1877 to native troops, have thrown into stronger contrast the disadvantages of a Police career. To this must be added the steady increase in the duties demanded from the constabulary. As laws and rules multiply, as sanitation is better attended to, and as the registration of vital statistics is extended and improved, the work of the Police is vastly augmented, for the real burden falls on them.

"For years past the quality of our recruits has been steadily deteriorating. Notwithstanding the reduction of our standard of physical requirements far below that which is desirable in a Police Officer, we only secure, for the most part, a very inferior stamp of recruit-men who have little or no prospect in succeeding in any other line. The wholesome and most prudent rules, regulating the proportions of religions to be maintained in the force, have, per force, been set aside to enable us to fill our ranks at all. . . . . The simplest process of arithmetic suffices to prove that, in many seasons, a second grade constable cannot live on his pay as a single man ; and, in accordance with native habits and ideas, most are married. If a badly paid struggling official, invested with large powers and possessed of many opportunities, abuses his position in order to support himself, more blame is naturally given to the Government for placing a man in such a position than to the individual for immoral conduct."

This is a painful state of things. To remedy it the Inspector-General proposes to promote from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 all constables in the Provincial Police of the twenty-five Cis-Indus districts in which this grade exists ; to increase the number of Deputy Inspectors by sixty-five, as that would admit of rather more than half of the second class and all the first class stations being held by Deputy Inspectors, and not, as is now too often the case, by Sergeants on 25 Rs. and sometimes 15 Rs. a month ; to create a grade of Inspectors of Police on Rs. 250 a month ; and, finally, to raise the pay by Rs. 20 of each of the twenty-six Cis-Indus Court Inspectors and then give them the nominal rank of Inspectors, so as to allow them to prosecute in criminal cases, and thus evade the



restrictions placed on police prosecution by the last Criminal Procedure Code.

A proposal has often been made, and is now again repeated by Colonel Ewart, that the Provincial Police should be reorganized and divided into Military Police for guards and public order, and Detectives for bringing criminals to justice. This we strongly advocate after an intimate acquaintance with the existing Police, extending back almost to the period of its formation. There is perhaps no country in the world where such diversities of human intellect are found as in India. Englishmen who know no Indian dialect, and who have met men like the late Sir Salar Jang, Keshab Chandar Sen, Kristo Das Pal, and others, have formed, and very justly, a very high opinion of the capabilities of Indians; but it is not of such men as those the population of India is composed. The great mass of the people are sunk in almost hopeless ignorance, and this evil is further intensified by too early and excessive sensual indulgence, by the use of intoxicating drugs, and perhaps by bad food and sordid existence. Your fine-looking constable on parade whose appearance delights the soul of a military Inspector-General, has often no more intellect than a bullock. You ask him his name, saying, *tumhara nam kya hai*, and he replies with a blank stare, *hán jī*. (Yes, sir). You slowly repeat your question with your best Hindustání pronunciation, and he replies *jī hán*. (Sir, yes). The use of articulate speech of some sort, and the ability to ring the changes on *jī* and *hán* are almost the only means of intellectually discriminating between that constable and a beast of the field. It is utterly and absolutely hopeless to make a detective out of him till his education has improved. But he will stand over a bag of rupees perfectly well, or he will plant himself on a roadway or crossing and assist in clearing it, or hinder a crowd from collecting. A professional criminal would fool him to the top of his bent, or take and sell him as a slave in the market place, if slavery were not forbidden under the British constitution; but a man of any physique or caste whatever may make an admirable detective, though he may never make a soldier. The Police Department ought to recruit its detective body from all classes and conditions of men among whom detective ability may be found, and merit should receive prompt and generous recognition.

All experienced District Superintendents of Police with whom we have spoken are of this opinion, that there must be two branches of the regular Police service, apart altogether from the local staff of village watchmen. Two branches of the regular Police have probably existed in all ages in India, until our countrymen evolved a scheme of their own, based upon the British and Irish constabularies. As early as the age of



Manú, patrols and fixed guards, open and secret, were appointed, while at the same time it was the duty of the king to entertain detectives, or spies as they were called, who would associate with the thieves, and lead them into situations in which they could be arrested and their guilt established. Other times, other manners. It is not now desirable that our detectives should act in this way, but the law of Manú shows that the use of detectives, as distinct from Police for the preservation of order, was deemed necessary even at such an early stage of Indian history.

It will be remembered that at the time of the Mutiny the Panjab Police which appeared to more favourable advantage than it perhaps ever will again, consisted of the two branches we have been advocating, namely, armed Police to supply guards and maintain public order, and barkandazes for the repression and detection of crime. We are simply advocating a return to the system which did so well when the Government required the military services of the Police, and when disaffection on their part would possibly have been attended with the most disastrous consequences. When the existing Police was formed, even the Supreme Government apprehended danger from high military efficiency on their part, and stated that if it was ever attained, it might be taken as a tolerably conclusive proof that the Police was stronger than was needed for purely Police purposes and might be safely reduced.\*

There is another reason still why in India Police for public order should be separated from the detective body. In all ages in India, the official with arms in his hands considered himself the master of the people, while the detective or watchman considered himself their servant. Under all native rule the armed official, or sipáhi as he called himself, was badly and irregularly paid—even far worse than our existing regular Police; and he considered he had a right to live on the people. This right it is to be feared our constable still considers himself entitled to, but it cannot be conceded to a man whose mission it is to investigate heinous offences and bring criminals to justice. He must lay aside his swagger and fanfarronade, move noiselessly among the people, and literally consider himself their servant and not their master.

There is one class of men, the old professional trackers, whom the present police system is gradually allowing to die out. We consider this a great pity. We have known several men of that calling possess extraordinary detective abilities. On one occasion we knew a famous tracker, probably now

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\* Papers on Police Reform, p. 247.

dead, pursue a Pathán murderer for sixty-three miles and arrest him in a village near the roadside whither he went to drink water during the midday heat. That man may not look well on parade, but his services should be coveted by the Police Department as fine gold by a miser. Of such men the Police Department, as at present constituted, hardly takes any account. In the northern part of the Panjab, the private trackers are altogether worthless, and, indeed, for some time their evidence has for the most part only been employed to establish false charges.

If the second class of existing Police constables were turned into barkándazes, their present pay would probably suffice for them, and the Inspector-General's difficulty would be solved as far as they are concerned. They should then be undrilled and undisciplined, as was formerly recommended by Mr. Clerk in the case of the Bombay Military Police; and if they proved themselves good detectives, there should be a career for them in their own special line. We would, as we have explained, have an armed Police and an unarmed Police. If for the armed Police we could obtain physical excellence and detective merit so much the more satisfactory :

*Nam gratior pulchro veniens in corpore virtus ;* but if this were not possible, then we would have the armed force for such purely good physique as we could obtain, and the unarmed force for special detective skill and acuteness even when unattended by youth or comeliness of person. The proposal to increase the pay of Inspectors might be considered, if the imperial finances were not otherwise overburdened. And instead of raising the pay of the Court Inspectors to evade the provisions of the law, perhaps a change in the law itself would be more feasible and desirable. If the mountain will not come to Muhammad, let Muhammad go to the mountain. We have long known Court Inspectors with their existing pay make capital public prosecutors. The proposal to increase the number of the Deputy Inspectors recommended by the Inspector-General, and thus hinder Police stations from being held by Sergeants on Rs. 25 or Rs. 15 a month, we cordially endorse. It is a necessity of the age, the result of high prices, of the progressive increase in the salaries of native officials in other not more important departments, and of the great power and responsibility possessed by officers in charge of Police stations.

In considering any further reforms of the Panjab Police, we cannot do better than refer to the admirable report of the North-Western Provinces' Civil Administration Committees' labours and deliberations in 1876,\* and the resolution of the

\* This Report was written by Mr. Robert Smeaton, Secretary to the Oudh Government.



Government of the North-Western Provinces thereon. It appears that from the time of the creation of the new Police, the Government of the North-Western Provinces has been far in advance of the Panjab. We notice the following special points not even yet included in Panjab Police Procedure. In the Police Manual of 1863 for the North-Western Provinces, the Police were ordered to attend to, and report for the information of the Inspector-General, all suggestions of the Magistrate of the district relative to any alteration in the disposition of the district force. The Magistrate of the district when on tour was to be accompanied by the District Superintendent of Police, the Assistant District Superintendent, or an Inspector of high position, because the Magistrate is the head of the Police, exercising a general control and supervision over the Police force. And the offer of rewards for the discovery or apprehension of criminals was vested in the Commissioner or Magistrate, and not in the Police officer as in the Panjab.

The report of the Nainí Tál Committee of 1863-4, a well-considered and remarkable one for the time, comes next in order. It opportunely pointed out the drifting of the Police from all Magisterial control. It was then found that superintendents had practically become less subordinate to the Magistrate of the district than had been intended or contemplated by Act V of 1861, and by the Calcutta Police Commission on whose report it was based. Deputy Inspectors-General, as already stated, were reduced to two, and their powers were transferred to Commissioners. It was found at the time, that the people believed the Magistrates indifferent to Police matters, and that the Tahsildárs had no authority whatever. The most important orders issued on the Report of the Committee were that District Superintendents of Police should in future correspond with the Inspector-General through the District Magistrate, and that the Magistrates' concurrence was required in all promotions up to the rank of Inspector.

The circulars subsequently issued by the North-Western Provinces all tended to restore the Magistrate of the district to his position as head of the District Police. Unemployed candidates for the post of Inspector of Police were to be recommended by the Magistrate of the district. Pay abstracts of the Police Department were to be countersigned by the Magistrate of the district, and acquittance rolls to be deposited in his office. Travelling and halting allowances of District Superintendents of Police were to be countersigned by the Magistrate as their immediate official superior. Orders discharging Police from the service were to be supported by the concurrence of the Magistrate, and to be countersigned by him. Similarly, the concurrence of the Magistrate of the district



was required in the case of the reduction or promotion of all officers below the rank of Inspector.

In the event of a Police officer being placed under suspension, the District Superintendent of Police might appoint a substitute for him, subject to the sanction of the Magistrate of the district. The Magistrate was empowered to appoint a member of a Committee to examine Sub-Inspectors in their knowledge of Police duties. It was ordered, that all matters connected with the rules for the repression of crime, the testing of statistics, the nomination and appointment of Special Police should be entirely in the hands of the Magistrate; and that the District Superintendent of Police only acted as one of his Assistants. *In consultation with Magistrates* and District Superintendents of Police, Deputy Inspectors-General were authorised to reduce or promote one grade on the spot Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Police whose conduct called for such notice. Commissioners and Magistrates were solicited to inspect Police stations and inform the Inspector-General and the District Superintendent of Police, if they found anything wrong when on their annual tour.

All appointments, promotions, rewards, and transfers of Police up to the grade of first-class Head Constables were to be made by the District Superintendent of Police with the sanction and approval of the Magistrate; and, finally, an English order book was prescribed to record the orders of the Magistrate of the district addressed to the District Superintendent of Police.

If all these orders had been passed in the Panjab, most persons would think the Police were under sufficient control. This was not, however, found to be the case in the North-Western Provinces, and, accordingly, the Civil Administration Committee of 1876 recommended numerous other measures by which the Police should be brought still more under the control of the Magistrate of the district. Sir John Strachey, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, in a minute dated the 22nd of July 1876, consolidated the existing orders and the recommendations of the Committee as follows:—

*“ Position and powers of Magistrates of districts.—*The Magistrate of the district is the controlling authority of the Police within his district. The Superintendent of Police is in the position of an Assistant to the Magistrate in the Police Department and entirely subordinate to him. The Magistrate will convey his instructions to his District Superintendent in the manner most convenient for the despatch of public business; and no official correspondence should be carried on between the Magistrate and his District Superintendent, except in the case of special reports on special subjects. The



concurrence of the Magistrate will be required to the nomination, appointment, and promotion of all Police officers up to (and including) the grade of Head Constable. The veto of the Magistrate shall in all such cases be final. The Magistrate shall exercise control, if he deems it necessary, in regard to the nomination and appointment of constables, but, ordinarily, these appointments shall be made by the District Superintendent. The express sanction of the Magistrate of the District will be required to all departmental punishments inflicted by the District Superintendent, except in the case of fines imposed on constables. The consent of the Magistrate must be obtained to the transfer, from one part of the District to another, of Police officers above the grade of constable; and the Magistrate may direct any such transfer *suo motu* and carry it into effect. The transfer of constables will be made by the District Superintendent subject to the Magistrate's control."

Apart altogether from the superior position of the Magistrate of the district, there is another reason for making the District Superintendent of Police more subordinate to him in the Panjab than he is at present. A District Superintendent of Police often receives charge of his office at a younger age than the Magistrate of the district. In the Panjab it is not an uncommon thing to see a young Police Assistant acting for six months of the year as District Superintendent. This youth often possesses no experience, and by the time he, in the beginning of the cold weather, makes over charge to a senior officer, he has succeeded in disorganizing and demoralising the whole District Police force. At present in the Panjab, junior Civil Officers cannot hold charge of Districts for more than a month or two yearly, and during that time they can effect little either of good or evil; and it is not considered the correct thing for them to do any more than carry on the work of the senior officers for whom they are acting.

Commissioners were altogether ignored by Act V. of 1861; and the Civil Administration Committee of the North-Western Provinces strongly recommended that these high officers should no longer be treated as cyphers in Police matters. The position and powers of Commissioners in the police economy were accordingly thus defined:—"Every Commissioner shall be ex-officio a Deputy Inspector-General, under section 4 of Act V. of 1861, within the limits of his divisional jurisdiction. To the Inspector-General, and to the Deputies other than Commissioners, will be left ordinarily all purely departmental functions; to Commissioners will be delegated the control of all other Police matters belonging to the office of Deputy Inspector-General within their respective divisions. An appeal shall lie to the Commissioner from all



departmental orders passed by Magistrates and District Superintendents inflicting punishment on members of the force above the rank of constable and below that of Inspector. The Commissioner's order in all such cases shall be final. Questions regarding the punishment of Inspectors will be referred, through the Commissioner, for the decision of the Inspector-General. The concurrence of the Commissioner as well as of the Magistrate will be required to all promotions to the grade, and in the several sub-grades of sub-Inspector. Commissioners have power, at the instance of a Magistrate of a district, to re-allocate, when necessary, the police force, provincial and rural, within their divisions, provided that such changes entail no additional expense. Any re-allocation so made must be reported through the Inspector-General of Police to the Government. The Inspector-General will alone have authority to transfer members of the Police force from one division to another, and to determine, from time to time, the strength to be allowed to each division. Crime reports are of two kinds; incidental reports of heinous crimes, and annual reports on special crimes. Reports of the first class will be submitted to the Commissioners for information; and, after perusal, will be forwarded by them for review to the Deputy Inspector-General, to whose department they belong. All correspondence between the Inspector-General on the one hand, and the District Superintendent of Police on the other, will pass, as at present, through the office of the Magistrate. The Police correspondence will always be open to inspection by the Commissioner of the Division."

The weak point, we think, in these generally admirable rules for the control of the Police in the North-Western Provinces is, that the Judges who must see more of Police working than the Revenue Commissioners, are totally ignored, on the old principle, we suppose, that the thief-catcher shall not be the thief-trier, but this we have already shown to be a fallacy. There is also, at least, one clause which obviously requires modification. The concurrence of the Commissioners to promotions to, and in, the several grades of sub-Inspectors is not at all necessary in our experience, and no practical advantage can be gained by it. If the Magistrate of the district and the District Superintendent of Police agree that a man deserves promotion, it may be accepted as a fact that he does, and the Commissioner should have no power of veto.

We have said that the Judges are ignored. The Commissioners in the Panjab who are already released from judicial work, could easily in future discharge the Police duties



prescribed to the Commissioners of the North-Western Provinces. Our Panjab Commissioners have all been Sessions Judges, and consequently they will be often in a better position to superintend the Police than the Commissioners of the North-Western Provinces, most of whom we believe have risen through the administrative branch of the service. But when the six Commissioners of the Panjab who have retained their offices after the 1st of October 1884, have retired from the scene, a question for consideration will be, how far and in what manner the experience of the Divisional Judges regarding Police working should be utilized. In this, however, a sufficient guide might easily be obtained from the experience of the North-Western Provinces.

But, perhaps, one of the most important measures of the North-Western Provinces' Government was the introduction of Tahsildárs or sub-Collectors, who had been totally ignored by the Police Act, into the new Police system. There are no officers under the Anglo-Indian administration who possess such great individual power as Tahsildárs, and whose influence for good or evil, within their own charges, is fraught with such serious consequence. In the Panjab their great power to assist the Police is allowed to lie dormant. Nay, it is to be feared, that it is in some cases employed against the force whenever there is a bad understanding, as there frequently is, between the Tahsildár and the Deputy Inspector. The latter frequently sets himself up as the Tahsildár's equal, and the result of an *imperium in imperio* distresses the Tashildar, who can then divert his great resources into direct antagonism to the Police. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, therefore, wisely issued the following rule:—

"All Tahsildárs who have passed the judicial and police tests shall be ex-officio Assistant Superintendents of Police within the limits of their Tahsils. The ordinary duty of Tahsildárs in their Police capacity will be confined to visiting the stations within their local jurisdiction, examining the various registers and diaries, and bringing to the notice of the District Superintendent any points appearing to deserve attention. They shall only exercise their Police powers for the purpose of enquiring into crimes, when expressly directed to do so by the Magistrate of the district. A Tahsildár shall not be so deputed, unless the offence is to be tried in some court other than his own."

To one other point we would refer. If ever the Panjab Police are reformed on the lines above indicated, it will not be difficult to carry the district officers with them, and induce them to sympathize with the Police in their difficulties. District

officers will then be easily induced to recommend native police officers for appointments, executive and judicial, under them, which now they are very chary of doing. This would improve the tone of the Police, and encourage men of good family and education to enter the service. We know that there is a very strong desire on the part of the whole body of the natives in the Police force to be brought back under the control of the district officer. It is a consummation that would be eagerly and loyally welcomed by them. The only malcontents would possibly be some European District Superintendents of Police who desired to be freed from subordination, and some Deputy Inspectors-General who feared the abolition of their appointments. The reproaches that are now levelled against the Police Department should not be possible against such an important branch of the public service, and would be totally obviated if it were again restored to its proper position under the District officer.

When all these reforms have been effected, there will little remain to be done. We do not deny the advantage that might result from a detective system for the whole of India ; but we understand there already exists one in the Thaggí and Dakaití Department, and that this only requires extension and improvement. Illicit coining, offences against the Postal and Railway Acts, smuggling, and numerous crimes which remain undetected now, could easily be traced by any competent agency. But we do not attach so much importance to a special Detective Police for India as we do to altering the existing Police system, and beginning in the hearts of districts with the needed Police reforms.

M. MACAULIFFE.

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#### ART. IV.—THE VILLAGE WATCH IN BENGAL ; OR A CENTURY OF ABORTIVE REFORM.

THE village watch in Bengal is doubtless a remnant of the primitive village system, which in ancient times prevailed throughout the whole of inhabited Hindustan, and the origin of which is lost in remote antiquity. The Aryan settlers, unable otherwise to secure their crops and property from the ruthless depredations of the numerous lawless tribes which in early times infested the country, appear to have compounded with the heads of robber races for their forbearance from crime. Thieves were appointed watchmen for the prevention of offences, of which themselves were the sole perpetrators, lands were set apart for their support, and the headmen were responsible to make good all losses. As between the Government and the village, the same rude system was enforced, wherever there was a Government worthy of the name. The inhabitants of a village were bound to produce the perpetrators of a crime or to make good the loss. If, however, they succeeded in tracking the criminal to another village, their responsibility was transferred to it. Thus was formed a rough and ready system of police adapted to the requirements of a weak, unscrupulous government and a semi-civilized state of society.

Primitive as is the idea of preventing crime by making terms with criminals, it has not unfrequently found favour in modern times, and is hardly yet extinct. It formed the basis of the detestable *goindari* expedient resorted to in Bengal upon the breakdown of the police arrangements of 1793. According to Dr. Buchanan, it prevailed at Purneah in 1810, as related further on, and singularly enough was yet in vogue in the same district half a century later, when *karuriah*s—a notoriously criminal tribe—were openly enlisted in the new constabulary for detective purposes, by enthusiastic British police officers whose zeal exceeded their experience. Nor is Purneah the only district in which this false notion has found exponents. Many others might be instanced. One will suffice :—In the district of Gaya, not many years ago, a number of thieving Rajwars, whose depredations had assumed unwonted proportions, were deliberately enrolled as chowkidars to guard the scene of their burglarious exploits. They were bound by solemn and written compact to outcast for ten years any member of the association who committed, *within certain*



*limits*, any of the offences of theft, burglary, highway robbery, or dacoity; and *mirabile dictu* crime in that particular spot thenceforth ceased—to be reported !

A belief in the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief is by no means confined to India. It was held and acted on by the crafty Fouché under the First Napoleon, and was the sole *raison d'être* of the peculiar position occupied in France by the celebrated ex-convict Vidoqc, a few years later. And passing by the escapades of Jonathan Wild and the early Bow Street Runners, we find that the advantages to themselves of joining hands with their enemies, have not been overlooked by the police of modern London. Their misuse of time-expired convicts a few years since created a grave scandal which culminated in the famous Druscovitch trial.

The system of holding the village community responsible for the conduct of each of its members, resembled somewhat that of the ancient tithing or frank-pledge in feudal England. A feeling of village responsibility for individual crime in many places still abides. In the Burdwan district, for instance, there exists, or did exist till recently, a practice called *kâtla para* (the fish has fallen) by which the burden was literally as well as figuratively transferred from one village to another. The watchman was secretly apprized by means of the above pass word that a corpse had been deposited within the bounds of his village, and summoning his caste-men to his aid, hastened to rid the village of such an unpleasant visitor. In the course of a night the ghastly remains of murdered men were passed through many villages. Whence came the corpse, and what became of it, were questions with which none concerned himself. The village was relieved of liability, and the police were saddled with the additional task of discovering as well the scene as the perpetrator of the murder.

Besides the assignment of rent-free land, the watchman has, in the course of time, become entitled to remuneration from other sources, depending in amount and character on local custom. Such, for instance, are contributions of grain for watching the crops in the field and at the threshing-floor called *bojha* (load), *panja* (five fingers), a sheaf as large as can be grasped. Also *manpowa*, a fee of one-quarter of a *ser* on each *man* watched. He also became entitled to various miscellaneous fees and perquisites called *haq* (right), for attendance at *hâts*, feasts, and festivals, and guarding shops, carts, and travellers. Among perquisites were the occasional free services of the village barber, shoemaker, blacksmith, potter, and other simple artizans. His post was hereditary, and under British rule has continued so, but at the discretion of the authorities. The following extract from a proclamation found at Lucknow by



Sir Colin Campbell's army, shows to what an extent this hereditary right was valued :—"The low caste servants should also know that the office of Watchman is their hereditary right, but the British appoint others in their posts and deprive them of their rights. They should therefore kill and plunder the British and their followers, and annoy them by committing robbery and theft in their camp."

The ancient names of him who watched whilst others slept were *Nishapāl*, or guardian of the night, *prahari*, watchman (whence the familiar *paharawalla* of modern parlance); *ashtopraharī*, one who keeps watch throughout the eight *prahars*, or 24 hours, and who despite the severity of his vigil, in some places still survives under the corrupt form *athpaharia*, having a near but less austere kinsman in the *athghariya*, or watcher for eight *gharis*, or about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  hours. Occasionally the appellation *jaganiya*, or wide-awake, is found; but this is as uncommon as the attribute it implies is foreign to the nature of watchmen by whatever name be they known.

The watchmen, as has been said, are believed to have been taken originally from predatory tribes given up wholly to plunder, and it is a fact that to the present day the castes from which the village police are recruited are, in all parts of India, highly criminal. In Bengal whatever may have been the case formerly, all of these castes now subordinate the gratification of their hereditary thieving propensities to the pursuits of some honest calling, and are therefore less dangerous members of the community than their ancestors. In Eastern Bengal these castes are principally *Haris*, *Bagdis* and *Doms*. In Western districts they are mostly *Ahirs* and *Dosadhs*. The characteristics of the various castes differ in many respects, and there is none that can be regarded as typical.

The most interesting is, perhaps, the *Dosadh*, about whose origin there is doubt. To such an extent does he monopolize the office in Behar, that the name *Dosadh* has become synonymous with village watchman. In this character, too, he is embalmed in the legendary lore of the country, which tells how Salhes Dosadh, a venerated ancestor, whilst guarding the palace of Rájá Bhim Sen, was circumvented by Chuhar Mal, another Dosadh, and a burglar of such uncommon capacity, that having knotted his pig-tail and girt up his loins, he was able to strike a mine (*Sindh*) from Mokameh into the heart of the kingdom of Pakooriah, some three *kos* distant, and surprise Queen Hansabati, sleeping on a golden bed, the object of his enterprise.

Like the illustrious Chuhar Mal, the Dosadh of the present day is an expert burglar. He is also a cattle-lifter, though in this art he 'resigns the front seat' to the *Ahir*. Many Dosadh



have attained celebrity as leaders of dacoits, and shrines are in some places erected to their memory. An instance is on record of a determined *Sirghana* (leader) of this caste, and a chowkidar to boot, decapitating and carrying off the head of a brother wounded in the fray, rather than risk identification and the safety of the gang. As a race, Dosadhs are of good physique, lithe, active, and courageous, and are said to have been well represented in Clive's army at Plassey. Notwithstanding their inherited criminal propensities they often prove good cultivators, industrious labourers, and faithful domestic servants. They worship a demon called Rahoo, have priests of their own, and eat and drink almost anything. They are particularly partial to pork and rear swine in abundance. They have also a weakness for strong drink and the *kalal*, or liquor-vendor has no better customer. Being divided into *gotras* or clans, like other castes, their customs vary somewhat.

The duty of the village watchman, in former days, was simply to guard the persons and property of his fellow-villagers from the depredations of robbers, but with the creation of zemindars and the acquisition of perquisites came an increase of functions: and in still later times it became his bounden duty, by various legal enactments, to arrest and carry before the authorities all thieves, burglars, dacoits and murderers; to report the occurrence of offences, unnatural and other deaths; the movements of bad and suspicious characters, and to present himself periodically at the *thannah* to furnish any local information that might be required of him. Besides the above, various irregular personal services are exacted by his superiors. He has become the *factotum* of peripatetic officials from the Magistrate-Collectors down to the *Barkandaz*, and his anti-type, the modern constable—awhile their guide and porter, anon their dairyman, poulterer, and general purveyor. Plodding wearily across paddy fields, the *Darogah's* bundle on his head, a constable in front, he may at any time be recognized by his blue *puggree* and antique bludgeon or battle-axe, struggling with his fate, and ever and anon giving vent to a hideous yell in the hope of alluring to the distasteful task some other luckless wight of a chowkidar whose village happens to fall in the *Darogah's* path.

On the accession of the Mahomedans to power, a radical change in the form of government took place. Villages lost their independence, and zemindars, hitherto non-existent, were appointed by the State, and charged with the collection of revenue and the administration of civil and criminal justice within the estates committed to their charge. Large establishments were placed at their disposal and into these the village watchman was absorbed. He continued to perform his functions as such,



but in the course of time the various duties appertaining to the zemindary establishments were performed more or less indiscriminately by the whole body. A new nomenclature was introduced, and persons discharging the duties of watch and guard were now known under names mostly of Persian origin, such as *Pâsbân*, *Nigahbân*, and *Chaukidâr*. This last mongrel term, meaning holder of a post, appears originally to have been applied only to the police of towns, but became general under the British administration, when an attempt was made to extend to villages, previously devoid of watchmen, the principles of Regulation XIII, 1813, framed for the better management of the police of the cities of Dacca, Patna and Murshidâbâd. At the close of the Mahomedan rule, the zemindar was, for good or for evil, a strong power in the land. He exercised almost supreme authority within his estate. He inflicted all sorts of punishments, including corporal,\* and even capital, under no further restraint than reporting the case at Murshidâbâd before executing the sentence. On the other hand, he was responsible for the peace, being bound under heavy penalty to apprehend murderers, robbers, and peace-breakers, and if he failed, to produce the robbers to make good the thing stolen. How he fulfilled his important charge the sequel will show.

In August 1765, two months after Clive's brilliant victory at Plassey, the *Diwani*, or civil and fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was conferred on the East India Company by a *Firman* or Royal Grant from Delhi: the *Foujdari* or criminal administration remained in the hands of the Mahomedans. Four years later supervisors were appointed in each district to superintend the collection of revenue and administration of justice, and an enquiry into the history of each district of the newly acquired provinces was ordered by Mr. Verelst, who had succeeded Clive as President in Council. This enquiry disclosed *inter alia* "that the regular course (of justice) was everywhere suspended: but every man exercised it who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decision;" that crime, especially dacoity, was very prevalent; and that the village police, where existing, so far from protecting the ryots, too often oppressed them. The increase of dacoity was ascribed partly to the resumption of *chakran*, or service lands, by the zemindars, and the restoration of these lands, and rewards in the shape of further grants of lands, was recommended by way of remedy.

No traces of a village watch, or indeed any portion of the

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\* The power to flog chowkidars for neglect of duty was only abrogated in 1834 by Reg. II of that year. It was found to be still occasionally usurped by police officers after the introduction of the new system of 1861.



ancient village system were then discernible in large tracts of North and East Bengal; due no doubt, in some places, to their having been uninhabited up to comparatively recent times, and in others to the antagonistic influence of the Mahomedan conquest on Hindu institutions.

A criminal court called the *Foujdari Adaulat* was then established in each district, presided over by the supervisors, afterwards called Collectors, assisted by a *Kazi*, *Mufti* and two *Moulavis* as interpreters of the law. There was also a Court of Control at Murshidâbâd and a Court of Ultimate Appeal at the Presidency called the Sadr Nizâmat Adaulat.

These arrangements totally failed to secure a proper administration of justice, and in 1775 the superintendence of criminal affairs was restored to the Mahomedan government in the person of the Nâib Subah at Murshidâbâd. *Foujdari* or Native magistrates were appointed to each of the 14 districts of Bengal, with armed men under them to protect the inhabitants. They were responsible to the Nâib Subah and entirely independent of all other authority. The state of the public peace under these officials is described by Hastings in a letter written to the Nawab in 1778: "The affairs," he wrote, "both of the *Phousdary* and *Adawlat* (sic) were in the greatest confusion imaginable, and daily robberies and murders were perpetrated throughout the country." And what wonder, for at this time the affairs of the Nizamat were controlled by a woman, Muni Begum, step-mother of the Nawab.

The great prevalence of crime had been attributed by Hastings' great adversary, Francis, to the reduction of the authority of zemindars, who, he maintained, should have full judicial as well as police powers. Hastings, of course, differed, and the Faujdars held undivided sway till 1781, when their conspicuous failure led to the judges of the Diwani Adaulat being vested with the power to apprehend depredators and delinquents within the bounds of their jurisdiction, but not to try or punish them—a power which was still reserved to Nizamat Adaulats under the Nawab.

In 1787, Lord Cornwallis having appeared upon this scene of disorder, regulations were promulgated, and Collectors vested with the triple power of revenue agents, judges, and police magistrates. The management of the police of the country remained in the hands of the zemindars, who were still held primarily responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and restoration of stolen property.

Their police establishments consisted principally of the village watchmen. There was also, in the Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidâbâd and Nuddiya districts, a force known as the *Thannadari* police, which must not be confounded with



the later establishment of Thannah police under Darogahs. In the wild tracts of Ramghar, Birbhum, and the Jungle Mehals, there was a semi-military force of Ghatwals, and a similar force in Midnapore, called *Paiks*, or footmen, whose duty it was to guard the hill passes and repel the *Chooars*, mountain robbers, who were in the habit of making descents upon the plains, attacking and plundering the people. These numbered in their ranks officers bearing the martial titles of *Nishândâr* (standard bearer), *Nagarchi* (drummer), and *Sunârdâr* (trumpeter). There was also in jungly places a sort of road patrol known variously as *Digwârs*, *Râhabârs*, *Dâkwas*, and *Shâhrâhis*, the two last being especially charged with the protection of the mails. Each zemindar had also a large personal guard of *burkandâzes* (lightning throwers), besides which, in the district of Burdwan, there were troops called *Nagdis* who, unlike the other establishments, were paid in cash, and not by assignments of land.

The condition of the people, left to the mercy of a class exasperated by reduction from the position of tributary chiefs to that of police magistrates and rent collectors, was not likely to improve, and the zemindars and their subordinates were found to be themselves the perpetrators and abettors of half the crime in the country. A vivid picture of the state of police administration under the zemindar of Burdwan is presented in the following extract from a letter from the Collector of Burdwan, Mr. Law Mercer, to the Board of Revenue, dated 3rd November 1790: "Nursed in idleness, indulging only in vicious courses, and mercenary in his principles, points him out (*sic*) as a very improper person in whom to vest authority for the redress of the most trivial grievances, and indeed from his supine indolence of disposition, he entrusts the entire management of business to dependants who, if possible, are more venal than himself, and the power of the Magistrate is very inadequate to remove grievances, the existence of which is encouraged at the very source from whence redress should be afforded; and, in fact, the persons injured by the *thannadars* never prefer their complaints to the Rajah, well knowing from sad experience it would be vain to expect redress from him;" and alluding to the Zemindar's responsibility in regard to stolen property, "nor is it in any manner in the power of the Magistrate to procure restitution to the unhappy and often ruined sufferers, as no specific rule has been laid down for enforcing it, nor can I quote a single instance where the stolen effects have been recovered, or the property reimbursed by the zemindar, although the whole gang of the *dacoits* may have been apprehended."



By a proclamation, therefore, of December 7th, 1792, re-enacted by Reg. XXII, 1773, the Government took the police of the country directly into its own hands, and deprived the landholders by law of all the authority which had attached to them as officers of State. At the same time all those branches of their establishments which had been maintained avowedly for police purposes only, were abolished; and the remainder, with the exception of one class, the village watch, lost their position as public officers and were reduced to that of mere private servants. The police services of the village watch were not dispensed with, as were those of the *thannadari* establishments, but were transferred from the zemindars to the regular police, now for the first time appointed under the direct orders of Government. Each zillah was divided into *thannahs*, of about 20 miles square, and to each *thannah* the Judge appointed a *darogah* with a body of armed *burkandazes* selected by himself. The Darogah was empowered to apprehend on a written charge, and to take security in the case of a bailable offence for appearance before the Magistrate.

All village watchmen, including *Paiks* and others, were declared subject to the orders of the newly appointed darogahs, but their connection with the zemindars as private servants was left undisturbed, and the double character of the village watchman supported by service lands was perpetuated. The right of nomination of watchman and responsibility for reporting and aiding in the repression of crime was left with the zemindar, and the duty of conveying letters from one police post to another, imposed upon him.

The effect of the new arrangements upon the *chukran* lands held by the village watch were, in the words of Mr. McNeile, "that the State acquired a direct lien upon the lands to the extent represented by the public service due from the occupants, the zemindars being left in possession of a lien proportionate to the private services still owing to them by the same occupants."

The earliest attempt to reorganize the rural police appears to have been made in 1797 by the Collector of Midnapore, who was permitted to resume about half of the *Paikan* or service lands of that district, and to dispense with the services of the *Paiks*. This measure was the cause of serious discontent among the abolished *Paiks* who, coalescing with their enemies, the *Chooars*, broke out into rebellion, burnt all the Watson's factories, and created such serious disturbances that, in 1800, the Government was compelled to restore all the resumed lands.

In the Bishenpore mehals a different policy was pursued,



and in 1802, on the recommendation of Mr. Blunt, the *ghatwali* tenures were taken from the zemindars, a proportionate deduction of *jumma* being allowed as compensation, and the *ghatwals* of Bancoorah became purely police servants of Government, entirely under the control of the Magistrate.

And now, alas! it became again apparent that the condition of the country had not improved. As observed many years afterwards by the Police Commissioner of 1838, a system of police so full of anomalies could not do otherwise than fail. The zemindars unentrusted with authority, but still held responsible, would of course afford no cordial co-operation. The chowkidars required to serve two masters, nominated by and entitled to receive their pay from the one, but bound to obey and liable to punishment and dismissal from the other, effectually served neither; while the public authority in support of which they are expected to co-operate, is naturally hated and betrayed by both!

Writing in 1815 the Marquis of Hastings remarked with much truth, that "it would have been unreasonable to look to the landholders for a cordial disposition to further a system, the immediate effect of which was to supplant their own police authority."

A return in part to the ancient system of conducting the police administration through the zemindars was thought desirable, and was urged with the usual disregard of history and experience shown by the *laudator temporis acti*. The judges of the Murshidabad Court of Appeal were of opinion that it would be expedient to vest zemindars with the powers of Justices of the Peace, "for it would contribute to the suppression of crimes and apprehension of offenders, by bringing to the assistance of the police all the zemindari establishments who were then not cordially co-operating with *thannadars* and *burkandazes*."

Reg. XVIII, 1805, was the immediate upshot of these deliberations. It enabled the Governor-General in Council to invest zemindars with the powers of darogahs of police. This power was, however, scarcely exercised, except in the recently ceded district of Cuttack, and another enactment (Reg. XII, 1807) was passed providing for the issue of commissions "to respectable inhabitants" to act as honorary assistants to the Darogahs, under the name of *Ameens* of Police, and the village watchmen were again placed under the orders of zemindars when so acting. But within the short space of three years it was found necessary to revoke all these appointments as the "respectable inhabitants" had "countenanced and supported dacoits" and other bad characters, and crime was more

prevalent than ever, so much so, that in the year 1808 no less than 329 dacoities took place in the Nuddiya district. 169 in Jessore, and 139 in Rajshahye. They were revoked accordingly by Reg. VI, 1810, and in the same year a superintendent of police was appointed for the Lower Provinces, and was charged to give his special attention to the state of the village watch.

Mr. W. Blunt was the officer first selected for this duty. His inquiries and those of his successor, Mr. J. T. Shakspeare, brought to light a lamentable state of affairs. The village watchmen were reported from all quarters to be the perpetrators or aiders of every kind of crime, the main reason assigned being the utterly insufficient provision made for their support. That close and accurate observer, Dr. Buchanan, in a report on the state of the Purneah District dated 1810, observed that "watchmen in India are reckoned very vile and abominable, and this seems in general to have been attended with much evil in the regulation of the Police; for these degraded creatures, not without some reason, think themselves justified in pilfering from their haughty masters; and wherever the custom of keeping such people prevails, no house is safe that does not pay them regular contributions. . . . In the remote north-west parts of the district this is at present the case, and the depredations are said to be enormous." The cure suggested had the merit of being at least unique and thorough. "Well informed men," continued Dr. Buchanan, "think that no remedy would be effectual except granting the watchmen some villages for them to occupy entirely, and to which they should be at night entirely confined by severe punishment, to be inflicted whenever they were found prowling about the villages of their neighbours." Verily, a complete answer to the question *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes!*

From a condemnation which was otherwise general, the village watch of the districts of Burdwan and Birbhum were excepted, and the Magistrates were called upon to report by what means they had attained success in a field where all others had failed. Mr. Bayley, Magistrate of Burdwan, took all credit to himself, for having by his personal energy and good management converted the watchmen of his district from a gang of robbers into a useful body of police. Mr. Morrison of Birbhum reported more modestly of his own achievements, writing in a letter dated 1811, that "a very short experience was sufficient to satisfy him that the village watchmen were either the perpetrators of every outrage, or, where not personally engaged, connived at the commission of those acts in others." He expressed a hope that by steadily pursuing his plan, which was similar to Mr. Bayley's, he might be able "to



introduce greater regularity than at present exists, and to obtain more accurate and earlier information." It is to be regretted that the secret of Mr. Bayley's magic recipe for the regeneration of recalcitrant watchman has been lost to subsequent generations.

The father of Bengal Police Superintendents, Mr. W. Blunt, began his reforms by drafting a regulation for the better management of the police of the cities of Dacca, Patna and Murshidabad. This was Reg. XIII, 1813, the first Municipal law enacted in Bengal. It provided for the maintenance of "*chowkidars*" on monthly stipends to be paid by the residents of the cities mentioned; the preamble laying down the important principle, that "it is just and expedient that the communities for whose benefit and protection such establishments may be entertained, should defray the charge of their maintenance." By Reg. III, 1814, and XX, 1816, the rules contained in Reg. XIII, 1813, were somewhat modified, and were extended to the head-quarters of all Magistrates and Joint Magistrates in the Lower Provinces; and the Government signified its intention of gradually applying the principles of these regulations to all the mofussil towns and villages in the country.

This intention was subsequently abandoned, probably in view of the practical difficulties to be surmounted; but meanwhile local officers had taken up the question of the village watch with an energy and disregard of legal technicalities which has not been without imitators in the more recent history of this hitherto incorrigible body. Mr. Ewer, the Magistrate of Mymensingh, established a village-watch in his district, holding the zemindars responsible for its support. In his report to Government dated 1815, he observed, however, "I conclude that the expense of this establishment is in reality, as it ought to be, defrayed by the inhabitants of the villages." Mr. Ewer's arrangements were highly approved of by the Government, and copies of his report were circulated to nearly all the Magistrates in the country for their information and guidance. Mr. Walpole, Magistrate of Dacca, Jalalpur (now Faridpur), was the first to follow Mr. Ewer's example. He also instituted a village-watch in his district, and threw the burden of supporting it directly upon the inhabitants at large. Mr. Ewer being transferred in the beginning of 1816 to Rajshahye, carried out in that district the same measures he had introduced into Mymensingh. Mr. Sesson introduced, first into Rungpore, and afterwards into Dinagepore (including Maldah), a system which he called the "*Golbandi*" or "*Zangirabandi*" by which the villagers were obliged to patrol their villages at night, taking the duty in turns. This system was abandoned soon after his departure, on account of a very

natural objection felt to it by the people, and its gross illegality. By whom the present chowkidari establishments of those districts were subsequently appointed has not come to light.

All these operations were carried out between 1814 and 1817. During the same period steps were successfully taken in some of the Behar districts to induce the residents of mofussil towns, still smarting under the rapacious cruelties of the Pindharies, voluntarily to adopt the new chowkidari system of Reg. XIII, 1813. In this manner chowkidars, paid entirely by the residents, were appointed at Mr. Patton's instance in Arwal and Daudnagar in the district of Behar (now Gaya); in Sasseram by Mr. Smith, the Magistrate of Shahabad; and in several towns and places in the district of Sarun. The same system was extensively introduced into the towns and villages within the mofussil jurisdiction of the Magistrates of the cities of Dacca, Patna, and probably Murshidabad.

Just after these new arrangements had been pretty generally carried into effect, Regulation XX, 1817—a comprehensive enactment for the better management of the rural police—was passed, and must be held to have been an Act of indemnity for the past as well as of confirmation for the future. It regulated the duties of the village watchmen throughout Bengal, upon lines very similar to those laid down in the Regulations of 1793, and prescribed a system of periodical reports at *thannahs*. The control of the force was vested in the Magistrates, with practically no power of punishment, short of dismissal, and no method of enforcing payment of salaries. The right of nomination remained as before with the landholders, and they, together with their representatives, were still held liable to afford certain aid and information to the police. With the exception of a few slight modifications introduced from time to time, this law was the last of the legislation in the matter of the village-watch for upwards of half a century.

Meanwhile the extension of the new system continued. In Tipperah a village-watch was established by Mr. Thompson in 1826, and in Chittagong by Mr. Davidson in 1827 to 1829. By whom the village-watch of Sylhet, Backergunge, and Noakholly was organized does not appear. But it is certain that the institution did not exist in those districts in 1818. There were some fragmentary remains of a village-watch in the 24-Pergannahs in that year, but they were, for all practical purposes, quite useless. By whom the existing force was constituted in that district has not yet come to light. This is also the case in regard to Nuddea and Jessore, where, from correspondence, it appears that a village-watch was instituted between the years 1793 and 1813, but by whom, and on what basis, is unknown.



With the exception of an attempt at assessment of Paikan lands made by Mr. Harvey in Midnapore, but put a stop to by Government in 1828, and a recommendation of resumption urged by the Board of Revenue in 1833, on the score that the zemindars neglected to keep up an efficient police, the village-watch attracted little attention till the efficiency of the general body of police in Bengal, brought out prominently by the insurrection of Teetoo Mir in the Baraset District in 1831, when a large body of chowkidars and others were ignominiously routed, and the much more serious rising of the Koles of Western Bengal in the following year, led eventually to the Police Commission of 1838.

The functions, character, and utility of the village-watch were then described by a Member of the Commission, Mr. Halliday, in the following famous passage:—"Theoretically these chowkidars are appointed, paid, removed and controlled by the village communities, subject at the same time to an incompatible control by the Government Police, and through them by the Magistrates. Practically they are sometimes controlled by the Thannah officers, oftener by the villagers, frequently by neither. For all practical purposes of Police properly so-called, they are absolutely useless. Here we have a force of about a hundred and seventy thousand men taken by a custom, which so long as the name of village chowkidar exists will be immutable, from the lowest and vilest and most despised classes, drawing annually from the people in legitimate wages,—not to mention irregular modes of taxation,—upwards of sixty *lakhs* of rupees; under no practical control but that of irresponsible and ignorant communities, of whom they are by turn the petty tyrants and the slaves, thieves by caste and habit, and connections; totally disconnected from the general system of Police, unorganized, depraved, worse than useless."

The remedy proposed by Mr. Halliday was, that this immaculate body of guardians should be increased in numbers to the extent necessary to enable them to undertake the whole duties of the Police of the country—an extraordinary proposition, which eighteen years later, himself admitted to be impracticable.

The depravity of the rural police was at this period, as all along, not confined to one part of Bengal: Mr. Hawthorn, Judge of Cuttack, in a letter to this Police Commissioner, wrote as follows: "The race of people denominated chowkidars, retain the name apparently to blind the people as to their real character. They are employed during the day to assist the Zemindar in collecting his rents, and at night they act as the agents of the notorious characters to point out where property is to be found. . . It is not an uncommon trick amongst the chowkidars to apply for leave of absence before a burglary or

dacoity takes place, to quiet suspicion against them, after having informed where property is to be found, and the time and manner in which the theft can be accomplished, with the least chance of detection to the parties concerned."

The Ghatwals of the west were no better than their brethren of the south. In 1840 Mr. J. M. Loch, Collector of Bancoorah, wrote to Mr. W. Dampier, Superintendent of Police, in the following strain:—"I now come to the character of these men and the present state of the system, and happy would it be if I could say anything in their, or its, favour. Instead of the Ghatwals being an assistance, they have always been a source of the greatest trouble to the Magistrate, and there is little doubt but that they are rather leaders, actors, or accomplices in all the robberies that take place in the district. That the system ought not to be allowed to last longer is clear, for they are dreaded by the inhabitants, useless as Police, and most expert as robbers and thieves."

But the time had not yet come for the solution of the problem of reform. All that was attempted at this time was to place watchmen of estates under Government management on a more satisfactory footing, by providing for the payment of their salaries in cash. But even in this small matter the fates were adverse, and throughout whole divisions these orders were deliberately disobeyed and the old system adhered to.

In 1844 Mr. Dampier represented to the Deputy Governor of Bengal the evils of the land payment system, and recommended that the duties should be relinquished, the lands assessed, and funds procured to support an efficient police. These evils were chiefly the impossibility of successfully combining the occupation of a cultivator with that of a night watchman; the incessant disputes as to boundaries; and the complications in case of dismissal or death without heirs or leaving minors.

Despite all these representations no real action was taken till, in 1851, a Draft Act was read in Council which, if it had become law, would have virtually transferred the burden of supporting the rural police from the villagers to the landholders. The British India Association protested, and the *coup de grâce* was given to the proposal by Sir Barnes Peacock in a minute, dated 1854.

In the interim Mr. Pierce Taylor, Judge of Burdwan, had reported that the *Ghatwali* system of police had become intolerable, and that—shades of Mr. Bayley!—the regular village watch of Bancoorah and Burdwan were little better. His view was heartily endorsed by Mr. Rivers Thompson, then Joint Magistrate of Bancoorah, who wrote, "they are the instigators or actors in every serious crime," and "any measure which you might suggest for the complete removal of such a body from the district



would be accepted as a boon by every class of the community." But the Government of the day did not see their way to the uprooting of this noxious plant. Mr. Ricketts was deputed to see what might be done in Midnapore, where the state of affairs appeared to cry loudest for reform. He recommended no less a radical cure than a survey and resumption of lands, followed by the appointment of an entirely new force. A long correspondence supervened, in which the Government of India, the Court of Directors, and lastly the Secretary of State, all took part. The proposal was unanimously approved of, but when it came near to be carried into effect, unforeseen difficulties were found to exist, and it suffered the fate inevitable to all projects for the reform of the rural police.

Then came the Santal rebellion of 1855. Prompt and drastic measures were here at least imperative and not to be delayed. The *thannah* police whose oppressions and unpopularity had been as potent a cause of the outbreak, as the tyranny of zemindars, or the extortion of money-lenders, were abolished, and a primitive village system invented and introduced by Mr. Ashley Eden, the first Deputy Commissioner. There were no policemen paid by the State. The headman of the village was made responsible for the repression of crime, with a staff of watchmen under him, well and regularly paid by the villagers. There was no law nor even written rule in force for their control.

The system suited, and was approved of by these then simple people, and was voluntarily carried out under the paternal auspices of the Deputy Commissioner. Speaking of its success in 1873, Colonel Pughe, Inspector General of Police, said "all Santal officers agree that the village system is admirably successful in the case of common theft and burglary, but useless against dacoity and against professional theft." Changes have of late years come over the spirit of this arcadian dream, and things do not, from various causes, work so smoothly as formerly.

In 1856 a reforming spirit was again abroad in Calcutta, a Commission, appointed by Parliament, was sitting to consider the improvement of the judicial establishments procedure and laws; and the character of the police again became subject of enquiry. Sir Fred. Halliday, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had a fresh opportunity of expatiating on the delinquencies of the village watch. It will be seen that they had not gone forward on the path of moral and material progress. "Village watchmen," he wrote, "are now declared to have no right to remuneration for service, and (the help of the Magistrate being withdrawn) they have no power to enforce their rights even if they had any rights to enforce. Hence they are all thieves or robbers, or leagued with thieves or robbers,

inasmuch that when any one is robbed in a village it is most probable that the first person suspected will be the village watchman." He showed from the statistics of three years that the ratio of crimes committed by village police was, in respect to their numbers, four times as great as the ratio of the total of crimes to the population at large.

The lucubrations of this Commission ended, so far as the village watch was concerned, in smoke. The outbreak of the Mutiny shortly afterwards may be accepted as a sufficient excuse for inaction. Sometime after it had been quelled, in 1859, a second bill for the amelioration of the condition of the village watch was brought into council; but it was declared to be "wrong in principle, and the details so utterly unsuited to the country, as to be incapable of being put in practice."

The following year the Government of India appointed a fresh Commission, composed of Messrs. Court, Wauchope, Robinson, Temple, and Bruce. It had for its purpose the consideration as to how best the reform of the Police establishments which had been successfully carried out in Bombay and Madras might be extended to Upper India. By a strange fatality which seems all along to have pursued this unhappy subject, no instructions were given to the Commission having reference to the village watch, though in the South the reforms of the imperial and rural police had, with much wisdom, been effected simultaneously.

Nevertheless, of such paramount importance was it thought that the reforms of the two forces should proceed together, that the Commission deemed it their duty to give their best consideration to the village Police, and embodied their conclusions in a series of propositions which they commended to the consideration of Government. "We are not prepared," they wrote, "to affirm that the abstract *necessity* of a village police for India could be demonstrated, nor that in a highly civilized country with a comparatively perfect police organization, such an institution as that of a village police would be indispensable. But under the existing circumstances of all those provinces of India, of which we, severally, have cognizance, we think that the institution must be maintained, and if the institution be maintained at all, there can, we apprehend, be no doubt that it ought to be maintained in real and thorough efficiency." \* \* "Experience in all parts of India daily proves that the maintenance of such an institution cannot be entrusted to private effort, or to public spirit; but must be actively undertaken by the State," \* \* "and the more the country settles down under British rule, the more negligent do the people become in contributing of their own accord to the support of



any public institution whatever." \* \* "In India, as elsewhere, it is necessary that the Government Police should be, as it were, *en rapport* and in intimate communication with the people. In the existing condition of the interior of the country, the organized police cannot be informed of all that occurs of public consequence, unless they have some tolerably reliable agency in the villages. That the organized police should have one of their body in every village or circle of villages would be impossible, and, if possible, would not be desirable. On the one hand a large augmentation of the police force would be needed. On the other, policemen scattered about among the villages and isolated from control would be oppressive to the people. It becomes necessary, therefore, that there should be some one among the residents of the village on whom the organized constabulary can rely for information, through whom they can carry out their orders. The village watchman is, of course, just such a person. He is a man of the village; not enough of an official to be alien from, or obnoxious to, the villagers, and enough of an official to be amenable to system and reliable for duty. He possesses a sort of knowledge, and a sort of influence, which no police agent could ever possess, and the people never regard him with distrust or dislike, but, on the contrary, consider him a useful personage, and a necessary adjunct to the constitution of the village." In short, the Commission expressed a belief that the two guiding principles should be *first*, the preservation of the local and popular character of the village watch, and *second*, the rendering of the village watch efficient for local police service. To secure these objects they deemed it essential, that—(1st) the appointment or succession of the village watchman should be regulated, as far as possible, by local custom; (2nd), that provision should be made for his support, either by the State, by the landholders, or by the villagers, or by two or more of these in combination; (3rd), that the amount of remuneration should be fixed and its realization be enforced by the district officer; (4th), that the control of the village police should vest in the Magistrate or Police Officer, who should have the power of *veto* in the matter of their appointment.

The road thus cleared, and the example of other provinces before them, it might be thought that now at last the matter would be taken up in right good earnest. The greatest effort, however, that the Government of the day found itself equal to, was the vesting of District Superintendents of Police appointed under Act V of 1861 with the phantom of authority hitherto exercised over the village police by Magistrates of districts, an authority which, ten years after, when under Act VI, 1870, shadow became substance, was deliberately taken away.—*Montes parturiunt, &c.*



The fatal mistake was made of starting the new police with a wide gap between them and the people—of creating a body without hands or eyes. It was soon found that something would have to be done to establish a *rapport*.

Public interest in the village watch had been kept alive by the institution on very opposite grounds of important suits on behalf of zemindars of Bhaugulpore and Burdwan, the former seeking redress on account of resumptions of Ghatwali lands by Government, the latter praying to be relieved from the interference of the Collector of Burdwan, who had thought it his duty to put a stop to illegal resumptions of service lands by zemindars, which had been quietly going on for three-quarters of a century. Both suits were carried to the Privy Council. In the former case, the Government was defeated, and subsequently absolved the *Ghatwals* from further service in consideration of the annual payment of a fixed sum. In the latter, the Government was successful, and the important principle enunciated, that the village watch of Bengal, so far as it is directly or indirectly supported by grants of land, has always been maintained at the joint expense of the State and the village communities and not at the cost of the landholders in any manner whatever.

In the same year, 1864, Mr. Hobhouse, who, as Judge of Burdwan, had tried the last mentioned case, being then Legislative member of the Bengal Council, drew up a memorandum on the village police, and, nothing daunted by previous miscarriages, prepared the draft of another bill for its improvement. He painted a highly, but not over-coloured picture of the anomalous position of the chowkidar and of the general deplorable state of the village watch. He proposed that chowkidars should in future be purely Government servants, and be paid in cash by a tax levied upon landholders, where there was no custom to the contrary—and where was there not?—the tax to be collected in a manner similar to that in force in connection with the village Dâk system. He provided that there should never be less than one chowkidar to 25 houses—about the proportion allowed in the most densely populated parts of Calcutta—and, in short, propounded a scheme which was in many respects so ill-adapted to the circumstances of the country, that it was almost universally condemned, though the various critics raised different objections, and proposed dissimilar remedies. The British India Association urged the same arguments that had been accepted as conclusive against the Bill of 1851-4.

Mr. McNeile, a talented young civilian, was then specially deputed to enquire into the whole subject. He visited a number of districts, and in 1866 submitted to Government the result of his researches, in the shape of a highly interesting and exhaustive report, to which the present writer is vastly indebted.



He showed, amongst other things, that in many places, owing to illegal resumptions, the service lands had altogether disappeared, and chowkidars were now supported by stipends in cash and grain and other commodities, paid nominally by the zemindars and villagers, but really by the latter alone.

The causes of the failure of the chowkidari system he attributed to certain evil influences always close, constant, and powerful, whilst *supervision* which alone could counteract them, was distant, intermittent, and slightly felt. Those evil influences were temptations to idleness, to the commission of crime, and to the concealment of crime committed by others. These evils, he thought, might be removed by the appointment of *sirdars* to supervise the chowkidars of a circle of villages averaging an area of twelve square miles; by the regular payment to the sirdars and chowkidars through the authorities, of a sufficient salary, and by rendering them altogether independent of the villagers and landholders. There were to be not less than four chowkidars to each circle, and not more than two chowkidars to every three square miles of area. The chowkidars were to patrol in pairs, and to exercise the powers of a police constable under Act V of 1861: the whole force to be subordinate to the District Police, and controlled by the District Superintendent. The Magistrate was to fix the amount to be raised in each circle, and to call upon the residents to appoint a *punchayet* upon whom would devolve the duty of assessment. The amount would then be collected with the revenue from the proprietors of Sudder Mehals, who, in their turn, would collect from their under tenants. It was further proposed to concentrate upon one person, in the lowest grade of rent collecting agents, all existing responsibilities in connection with the reporting and repression of crime. Mr. McNeile, however, closed his report with an expression of preference for a system under which the whole establishment of village police would be abolished and their duties be absorbed by a greatly increased force of constabulary. This extravagant scheme was the exact converse of that proposed by Mr. Halliday in 1838.

Neither of Mr. McNeil's proposals found favour with the authorities: the Inspector-General of Police objected to the status of the proposed chowkidar, or rural constable—"a constable," he contended, "may be a resident of a circle, and yet not be on visiting terms with his neighbours. It is different with the village chowkidar; though neglected and abused, he has the confidence of his fellow-villagers—he hears a hundred things that no other person has an opportunity of hearing. Like the village barber or washerman, he learns all the gossip of the place; and on pretence of collecting his per-centage of pay from each householder, he has an excuse



for entering every house in the village without exciting suspicion. He has an opportunity of seeing how each member of a family is employed ; who is absent, and who is present. On the occasion of a feast or festival, he is employed to carry the invitations either verbal or written. He, and often his family, are invited to assist in the preparation of the feast, and in the distribution of the dishes. Is it likely that a subordinate constable receiving his appointment from the District Superintendent of Police, without any reference to the village communities, will be permitted to have the same free and unreserved intercourse with the inhabitants ? Allow that he may have some intercourse with his own village ; but will he have the same advantages in the other villages of his circle, in which he is not a resident ?” Now that a system was in danger that had always been admitted by well-informed men to be based upon sound principles and to contain the germ of good, it behoved the head of the department to say something in its defence, and accordingly he wrote “that the village-watch has degenerated,—that it is wretchedly paid and *without any supervision*, no one can deny ; but it is going too far to assert that every chowkidar is a thief, if not a dacoit. Every police officer who has had experience in the investigation of serious cases of crime will acknowledge, that in the generality of cases, the clue which enabled him to work out a case successfully, was obtained from the village chowkidar.” . . . . “If, then, the present system is entirely abolished, I fear that we shall only add to our difficulties.” The Inspector-General also objected to the abolition of the obligations of landholders and to the roundabout method of collecting the tax, and ended by proposing a scheme of his own, the most important feature of which, in our eyes, consists in the provision of a village inspector whose duty it would be both to collect the tax and superintend the chowkidars.

The twin proposals were strangled in their birth ; three more years elapsed, and then, the urgency of reform having been repeatedly pressed upon Government, a fresh departure was taken, and a fourth Commission sat to consider this already threadbare subject. The offspring of this Commission was Act VI of 1870. It was ill received—being looked upon from its birth by far-seeing officials as an ill-conditioned, impracticable measure. After two years, it had been introduced into only 26 districts, and in only one of these—Rajshahye—was it pronounced successful, and even there, this verdict had afterwards to be greatly modified.

Writing of the position of the chowkidars under this Act, Mr. Stuart Bayley said—“They have no more *rapport* or connection with the police than their weekly appearance at



the Thannah can give. They are supposed to be the last link in the chain of co-operators for the suppression of crime, . . . but singularly enough between them and the link above, the chain is broken." Another official upon whom, to judge from the present stage of this controversy, the mantle of Elijah had descended, prophesied "that so long as the question of organizing the village-watch for police purposes is shirked and shelved, and the real issue made subservient to broader questions of Municipal self-government, so long will complaints be made of police inefficiency, and the police themselves be unjustly blamed." Sir G. Campbell, however, thought that, with modification, Act VI might answer for places where there was no indigenous system, and thus, damned with faint praise, it continued to struggle on, till in 1874 another onslaught was made. The Inspector-General of Police reported about it as follows:—"In theory it is excellent, but here its merit ends. It is procedure-ridden instead of summary, cumbrous instead of simple," and in the Rajshahye District, where it had been most successful, no less than 1,560 chowkidars were found to be in arrears of salary.

In spite of almost universal condemnation, Sir R. Temple, confident that only "vigorous administration" was necessary to success, enforced the extension of the Act to a large number of districts. Failure became more conspicuous, and in 1876, Mr. Monro represented "that the *punchayets* are in many instances unfit\* to have anything to do with a post which gives them control over village crime in which they may be interested; that there is a great danger and practical mistake in separating between the rural and regular police as the Act does; that such separation, now only commencing, is likely to increase and to be mischievous." This elicited only the inconsequent, yet to the main subject, very pertinent remark, that the rural police was the main stay of the regular police, and without their co-operation detection was more or less a matter of chance. The District Superintendents must therefore supervise the former more closely;—supervise, indeed, but without the staff to do it.

Year after year the local authorities persisted in representing the real state of affairs, but with the exception of the passing of an Act in 1878 for the regulation of the rural police in the districts of Hazaribagh and Lohardagga, the Government evinced no disposition to move. At last, in 1883, the attention of the Government of India was attracted to the subject, who remarking upon the unsatisfactory working of the present arrangement, and the necessity of *bringing the force more*

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\* They appear to have been intellectually as well as morally unfit, for in one district the copy of the Act under which they were conducting their operations proved to be a translation of Dr. Macleod's treatise on cattle-disease!



*under control* without depriving it of its local character, expressed a hope that the Lieutenant-Governor would take an early opportunity of placing the village-watch in Bengal on a more satisfactory footing.

Three officers with much practical experience of the working of the Act were accordingly constituted a Commission to enquire and report. That urgent necessity for reform still existed may be gathered from the following passages descriptive of the character of the village police so lately as 1870, and the success of the law passed for the removal of this dark blot in the administration. "There was only too good reason," wrote no less an authority than Mr. Rivers Thompson, "to conclude from repeated cases of heinous crime in which they had been convicted, that the chowkidars themselves were hand and glove with the criminal classes, and often the direct organisers and promoters of the worst form of gang-robbery." And in regard to the effect upon this lamentable state of things of Act VI of 1870, the Committee after patient enquiry in many districts, reported that in their opinion the Act "when worked as it was intended to be worked, has failed to secure what was expected." . . . "Where good results have been attained they have been secured, not by voluntary action on the part of village communities but by pressure, in many cases illegal pressure, being put upon them by local officers anxious to secure the payment of their salaries to the village watchmen."

With regard to the future a majority of the Commission—unanimity on such an ill-starred subject being of course out of the question,—recommended certain radical changes which may be thus briefly summarised:

(a). That there should be one uniform system of administration of the village watch in Bengal, the system of payment by lands being abolished.

(b). That the *punchayets* should be retained as assessing bodies only; retaining, however, the right to nominate and supervise chowkidars, but having no further control over them whatever.

(c). That the power of appointment, fine, suspension, and dismissal should rest with the Magistrate of the District.

(d). That the chowkidari rate should be collected by *tehsildars* appointed by Magistrates to circles of villages, and the chowkidars be paid through the Police.

(e). That the powers and duties of chowkidars should in certain respects be increased.

The Lieutenant-Governor, whilst admitting that a case had been made out, showing a necessity for some separate agency to collect the rate, was inclined to the opinion that in other respects the *punchayets* might, under the new local self-Government



scheme, be successfully controlled and made to fulfil their functions. The opinion of Divisional Commissioners has accordingly been asked, on this point, and the long-looked-for reform again indefinitely postponed.

It has been seen that after a century of tinkering, the character of the force, relatively to the state of civilisation, remains the same. And the question arises, what is there about all the numerous schemes devised for the improvement of this refractory body that has led to nothing but failure? The problem to be solved is this: It is necessary to convert thieves into honest men; to make them as far as possible independent of local influences whilst maintaining their intimate relations with the villages; and to exact from them a proper performance of their duties.

The first condition has been generally thought securable by the mere provision of a sufficient stipend. This is no doubt an important—nay, the most important—factor, but it is not everything. Writing of the Police of Bengal, Mr. Mill, some fifty years since remarked, that “It is one of the most imbecile of prejudices to suppose that large salaries make honest men. So long as things were so miserably organized that gain, unbalanced by danger, would accrue to the darogahs by violating their duties, they might be expected to violate them, if their salaries were as large as those of the Governor-General.” Yet this delusion is in the year of grace 1884 still abroad; and it is held that a regularly paid pittance of from 3 to 6 rupees a month will be sufficient, under the supervision of an apathetic, self-seeking *punchayet*, and the distant, fitful control of the *thannah*, to restrain from crime a class whose opportunities, and strong hereditary instincts, have for centuries rendered them the terror of the people and the scourge of the land.

The second condition is, we think, satisfied by the proposals of the recent Commission in regard to the appointment and payment of chowkidars. It is not in human nature that the chowkidars shall retain the unbounded confidence of the criminals whilst loyally serving their enemies, and the nearest approach to perfection is, we think, to be attained by the selection of chowkidars from among the best disposed of the classes that have hitherto held the post closely supervising them, and making it their interest to serve us faithfully.

The third condition—in our eyes a vital one—is to all intents and purposes ignored. It is impossible to exact a proper performance of his duties from the chowkidar without an efficient supervising agency, and this neither exists at present nor is provided by the Commission. The *punchayets* have already proved themselves both fraudulent paymasters, and inefficient supervisors; and it is absurd to suppose that a handful of *thannah*

police can properly control a force of several hundred rogues scattered over an area of from 10 to 20 square miles.

The necessity for a supervising agency and link between the rural police and the constabulary has been repeatedly pointed out. Such an agency was provided, in his sirdars, by Mr. McNeile ; it was suggested in the shape of Village Inspectors by Colonel Pughe ; it was thought requisite by Sir Stuart Bayley ; its want was recognised and supplied in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Oude. It can be secured in Bengal by the simple transformation of the *tehsildar* of the recent Commission into the Village Inspector of Colonel Pughe. Let this functionary, call him Village Inspector, *Sirdar*, *Pharidar*, or what you will, be charged with the double duty of collection and supervision, let him form a centre of information, and a link between the people and the imperial police, and, in order to secure men of a fit stamp, throw open to him the doors of promotion to a higher rank. Until reform takes the direction here indicated, there is no hope, we fear, of much real improvement in the rural police of Bengal.

We have seen the village watchman in the various guises of a black-mailing robber, an armed retainer, and a rural policeman. We have seen him remunerated for his services in land, in cash, and in kind. We have seen him abolished, and reinstated ; controlled sometimes by villagers, at others by zemindars, by darogahs, and by *punchayets*. In all these capacities, and under all these vicissitudes, he has remained the same unregenerate, yet indispensable, blackguard. We trust that when next we meet him we may find him a reformed character, wearing the garb of penitence, and fulfilling his functions under the vigilant eye of close supervision.

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## ART. V.—POLICE REFORM.

**E**ARNEST and prolonged discussion on the important subject of Police Reform is peculiarly appropriate to the present time, while a carefully prepared scheme for the formation of a detective force, drawn up by Colonel C. H. Ewart, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Amballa Circle, is under the consideration of Provincial Governments. The writer of the present article proposes in these pages, to briefly expose some of the chief deficiencies and errors in the existing system, and to show in what way the adoption of Colonel Ewart's scheme remedies them and brings into use many available factors of efficiency which at present lie in abeyance.

The writer of a clever and well written article on the subject of Police and Police Courts, appearing in the July number of this *Review*, believes that the inefficiency of the existing Police system is mainly attributable to the fact that in its organization the primitive and semi-barbarous condition of Indian Society was not sufficiently taken into consideration. The present writer believes, on the contrary, that in the steady march of progress towards complete development which has within the last twenty years distinguished the administration of most departments in India, and which has had the effect of eliciting the latent capacity for improvement of the urban and rural populations, the Police department alone has remained stationary, and that its system instead of requiring simplifying is much in need of higher development to enable it to cope with the conditions under which crime at present exists and flourishes.

It may seem paradoxical to state that the application of the resources of art and science to the improvement of various departments, has directly tended to the encouraging of crime and the increase in immunity to offenders ; but a little consideration will show that it has had this direct tendency. For instance, hitherto the fact has not been sufficiently realised that the opening out on a large scale of railways and telegraphs, and the vast and always progressing improvement in postal arrangements have enormously increased the facilities for the commission of the more heinous sorts of crimes which are generally the handiwork of daring criminals who adopt such crimes as professions, while no corresponding facilities have been furnished to the Police to enable them to cope on something like equal terms with the carefully thought out and daringly executed offences which are daily becoming more common in occurrence and more skilful in conception and execution.

The main faults in the existing police organization are :—

1. The absence of a class standard in recruiting.
2. The breaks in continuity of action consequent on the restrictions imposed by territorial boundaries.
3. The poverty of the pay in the lower grades, tending to the increase of temptation to dishonesty.
4. The non-existence of schools for detective instruction.
5. The want of proper machinery for the prosecution of cases.

Let us consider these points in the order above noted.

(1.) When recruits are required, men of good physique are selected from the number of candidates who attend the Police office daily. The selected candidates undergo a medical examination and must be up to the standard height and chest measurements, and are then entertained as recruits; giving a reference as to character. This reference is generally to one of the headmen of the recruit's village, and perfunctory enquiries are made which rarely prove unsatisfactory for the simple reason that the matter has been previously settled between the recruit and his referee, who may be as likely as not one of the greatest *badmashes* of his village. No endeavours are made to ascertain particulars regarding any former employment of the recruit, and it not unfrequently happens that a man is enlisted who has been previously dismissed from the Police force of some other district for misconduct.

The recruit thus obtained is put through a course of training in drill and discipline at station head-quarters for a year or so, and then posted to a station where he is employed in the investigation of cases under the general supervision of a senior native officer, but where he has frequent opportunities for independent action in individual cases. When it is borne in mind that these opportunities occur in the career of an individual whose moral training has probably been *nil*, and who receives from Government a monthly salary of six rupees,—something less than can be made in any branch of unskilled labour,—the wonder is not that such men occasionally yield to temptation, but that they do not universally do so.

(2.) The break in continuity of action is one of the most serious defects in the existing organization. The operations of a Police officer in search of a criminal are mainly confined to action in his own district. In the event of his having to follow up a clue in another district, he has to apply to the Police of that district and is met, not perhaps by active obstruction, but at best by lukewarm and perfunctory assistance from individuals who are uninterested in his success as being a matter which in no way bears upon themselves and their personal interests.



Should his search lead him into another province, these difficulties are of course accentuated and other technical restrictions occur, while to the professional criminal one district or province is as open as another, and his knowledge of localities is generally much wider and more general than that of the Police officer who serves from the commencement to the end of his career in one district, and whose experience of procedure in cases of normal local crime is absolutely useless when applied to the detection of special offences which have been planned and executed by astute and daring professional offenders.

(3.) The poverty of pay in the lower grades has been already briefly referred to in this article, and is so palpably an incentive to dishonesty, that it requires no special comment.

The rates of pay in the Panjab Police are as follows :—

- For Constables, six and seven rupees per mensem.
- „ Sergeants, ten, fifteen, and twenty-five per mensem.
- „ Deputy Inspectors, forty, sixty, and eighty rupees.
- „ Inspectors, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, and two hundred rupees per mensem.

The salary in the higher grades is sufficiently good to justify Government in expecting honest work from their incumbents, but is lamentably insufficient in the grades of Sergeant and Constable. A Constable drawing six or seven rupees is frequently employed in preliminary investigations in petty cases, and when he can probably make at least a month's pay in each such case, it is not fair to expect phenomenal honesty from him, such as would not be looked for under corresponding circumstances in any civilised nation.

(4.) The non-existence of any school for detective training seriously debars the average Police officer from a fair chance of success in dealing with the heinous crimes which are the work of professional criminals. Quite recent discoveries in the Panjab and N.-W. Provinces have shown that crime is a professed *industry* (if the word may be so applied,) among certain classes who devote as much ingenuity and labour to the perfection of their art as the professional criminal classes in England (coiners, burglars, pickpockets, &c.), and with as marked results, as regards the attainment of a high standard of dexterity and skill. The training undergone by an ordinary Police officer leaves him very far behind in the acquirement of knowledge enabling him to cope with these skilled offenders, and success is very rarely obtained except by means of inducing one or more of the gang (professional criminals are almost invariably members of organized gangs) to become an informer on promise of pardon. This is of course an unsatisfactory method of procedure, but is, in most instances, the only one practicable. A Police officer, after undergoing his year's training in discipline

and elementary drill, passes the remainder of his service: (1) in guard and treasure escort duties if at head-quarters; (2) in taking part in the investigation of *normal* crime if at an outstation, to the extent of, perhaps, five or six cases during the year, and (3) in nightly patrolling roads, taking no part in criminal investigations, if stationed at a roadpost. In a few years, during which he apathetically waits for his promotion by *seniority*, not by merit, he becomes a machine for the perfunctory and automatic performance of certain fixed duties, his individuality and potential capacity for independent action in emergencies being swamped by the necessity for rigid adherence to technical procedure imposed by departmental regulations. The only exceptions to a career such as that here sketched, are in the cases of police employed in large cities, where the members of the local force are brought into frequent personal contact with professional offenders and pick up a certain amount of experience of their *modus operandi*. As the terms "professional" and "normal" crime have been frequently used in this article, perhaps a few words on this subject will render their meaning clear, and show the great difficulties besetting the Police in the investigation of the former.

Crime may be classed under three general heads, *viz* :—  
Casual, Normal, and Professional.

Under the head of casual crime may be classed offences committed without premeditation, such as murder (when with no object beyond the gratification of a temporary feeling of resentment), culpable homicide, kidnapping, and many other offences, generally trivial in nature, the commission of which is brought about by conditions of temporary existence.

This is the rarest of the three sorts of crime in occurrence, is the most easily detected, and is the least important in its effects on the moral or mental condition of the people.

The term "normal crime" is self-explanatory. In the Panjab, and probably all over India, the normal crimes are petty theft, cattle lifting, burglary, and acting as receiver of stolen property. Some of these being adopted as a means of livelihood might be classed as professional crime, but it is preferable to preserve the latter term for distinctive application to such crimes as require special appliances, skill, and personal attributes for their successful operation, and, above all, that are the work of carefully organized gangs with well established systems of intercommunication among their different members or parties, and that execute crimes which could not be worked by ordinary criminals or without special organization with much chance of continued success. In this category may be included murder by poison, or by special means always adhered to by the performer, dacoities, coining, certain conditions of



cheating, and some few other heinous crimes. Professional crime, though not of as frequent occurrence as normal crime, is generally far more serious in its nature and effect, and is the special crime in which Police procedure most signally fails, through the fault of the system far more than of individuals, and it is mainly for the suppression of this species of crime that the creation of a detective force is most urgently needed, and towards which Colonel Ewart's scheme is most particularly directed.

(5). The machinery for the prosecution of cases before the Magistrates is markedly deficient. The accused persons have the advantage of the services of pleaders and barristers, in addition to the many loopholes of escape afforded by a legislation which is singularly favourable in all its aspects, from first to last, to the individuals under trial. On this point the words of a well-known writer on English law are singularly applicable to our Indian law. He observes :—" The prisoner's whole treatment now-a-days seems like one continuous apology for putting him to the inconvenience of arrest, and an organised effort to shield him from the attacks of that society whose peace he has probably broken, and the same consideration is shown him to the very end."

Here the principle of the English and Indian law is identical, but England possesses what we do not, yet what we sadly require, *viz.*, a Director of Public Prosecutions, with several assistants, all of whom are barristers, while Scotland has a Procurator-fiscal and his staff employed as public prosecutors. The technical obstructions to prosecution are daily becoming more rigid and inflexible, and a Magistrate is bound to abide by the letter of these restrictions, though in many instances a discretionary power to act upon their spirit would enable him to convict notorious criminals of whose guilt there can be no possible doubt, but whom he is reluctantly compelled to let loose, to prey upon the world again.

The writer of the article in the July number of this *Review*, to which reference was made in the beginning of this article, considers that laxity of supervision encourages dishonesty among the subordinate police, and that an improvement would be effected by making over the supervision to the District Magistrate, in fact, by reversion to the system existing prior to the reorganization of the Police in 1861. He may have been unfortunate in his experience of District Superintendents of Police, but it is difficult to conceive the possibility of improved supervision resulting from the withdrawal of that supervision from an officer whose special work it is, and imposing its duties on one who is, as a rule, already overworked, and who could not possibly devote the time and attention to it that are at the

disposal of the present superintendents. That this fact received due recognition is proved by the creation of the office of Police Superintendents in the reorganization of 1861. The majority of District Magistrates freely admit their incapacity to give due supervision to matters of internal economy in Police matters without prejudice to their other multifarious duties, and, moreover, the Police are after all under the general direction of the Magistrate of the District who can step in and exercise his prerogative if he finds it necessary to do so.

The writer of that article remarks that the disorganization of society recently witnessed in British Burmah would hardly have been possible under the old régime, yet the mutiny occurred under that régime.

The real reform required is very clearly pointed out in Colonel Ewart's detective scheme, which received the strong approbation of very many of the most eminent Magistrates of the day prior to its submission for the consideration of the Provincial Governments.

Accepting the fact that in attacking professional crime, we have to deal with individuals and gangs possessing, as a rule, (1) more or less local knowledge of the proposed scene of their operations; (2) well established lines of communication among themselves; (3) power of action unrestricted by district or provincial boundaries, and (4) a system of co-operation with local criminals. We must also accept the fact that to cope with them successfully we must have a Police force possessing, (1) equal knowledge of the country, which is only obtainable by equal freedom from the restrictions of local boundaries; (2) an organized system of intercommunication throughout the empire, having one central focus; (3) liberty to avail itself freely of telegraphic communication; (4) composed of members of more than average intelligence, and (5) drawing salaries sufficient to maintain themselves and their families without recourse to dishonesty.

This is the detective branch of our Police Administration which Colonel Ewart proposes to give us.

In its place we have a Police: (1) Indifferently paid and not over intelligent in its lower grades; (2) with local knowledge and capacity for action, confined strictly within local limits; (3) with no experience in the systems of working of professional offenders and (4) totally out of touch with the Police of other districts and provinces.

The contrast between what is, and what ought to be, is surely sufficiently marked here, to account for the shortcomings of the existing Police force, and to show plainly the absolutenecessity for reform on the lines indicated.

The proposed detective force is to be raised, (1) by the selec-



tion of men in the existing force who have given proofs of their possessing detective ability, (2) by recruiting among the criminal classes as approvers, and (3) from certain classes of the general population.

The obtaining of recruits from the criminal classes might seem paradoxical to non-professional observers, but to those brought into official contact with those classes, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon their special aptitude for the services required from a detective, the diverting of the skill, cunning, ingenuity and promptitude of action of the pseudo-successful criminal, to the more legitimate line of business would certainly result in the formation of a good detective.

Reserves for the supply of members for this force would be formed at the head-quarters of districts, and would work under the order of the Local District Superintendents, subject to call upon them for employment in the detective branch. The latter would thus become a *corps d'elite*, and the rising detective of the reserve would strain every nerve to qualify for admission to its ranks. The main employment of detectives would be along lines of railways, which are the almost invariable method of locomotion adopted by professional criminals. The detective force of the whole of India would be under the orders of an Inspector-General of Detectives, with assistant Inspectors-General in each province. The members of the force would thus find themselves working throughout under one administration, and individual members being liable to be ordered off to any part of the Empire would not consider themselves bound to special exertions in the investigation of cases of local occurrence only. It is absolutely necessary to success that this force should be made Imperial and not Provincial, in order to the establishment of continuous and co-operative action throughout. The Provincial Police could be called upon to assist in cases where their local knowledge would be valuable, and in return the Detective Branch would greatly help the Provincial Police by taking upon itself the repression of professional crime.

The pay of the Detective Branch, as proposed in Colonel Ewart's scheme, would be as follows:—Constables Rs. 15 to 20, Sergeants 50 to 80, Deputy Inspectors 100 to 200, Inspectors 200 to 300. These salaries would induce men of recognised ability and position to join the force, and a spirit of emulation and ambition would be created in the provincial Police which would prove a healthy incentive to honest labour and intelligence, and would raise the general standard of the force.

The Railway Police Committee's Report published in June 1882, contains some passages which are here quoted as

indicating a recognition of the necessity of an Imperial Detective Force.

"The chief defects of the system are the extreme disintegration," &c.

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"This renders impossible any cohesion in the force, and prevents individual members feeling that amount of interest in the common success of the Force which is so necessary in all Police administration."

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"There being no common point of contact between the different Police Detachments, bad characters, when one part of the line becomes too hot for them, have only to change their habitat to reappear elsewhere with unblemished reputations, again to be found out, and again to move further on into another Police District."

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"On the Railway highway of India it seems of the utmost importance to secure concerted action. Criminals have the advantage of rapid through locomotion, facilitating the quick exchange of spheres of action, and it is only prudent that there should be a Police organization capable of watching their movements over a large extent of line."

H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab has already expressed his opinion that "the scheme proposed by Colonel Ewart is a good one, and sound reasons have been adduced for the constitution of a detective force."

The scheme has already been for some months under consideration and the early institution of the necessary reform may be expected.

In conclusion it is advisable to remark that statements in this article regarding internal economy, &c., of the present force, have special reference to the Panjab Police, but as the whole of the Indian Police was organized on the general lines laid down by Act V of 1861, the principles involved are sufficiently identical throughout to admit of general application.

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## ART. VI.—THE GALVANIZATION OF INDIA.

AT the close of a Viceroyalty such as that under the régime of which this country has just passed, it may not be inopportune to pause and consider the very rapid strides by which India is being *pulled* along towards the goal of Western civilization. Of course, advanced thinkers regard this as an unmixed good and scout the idea of *Festina Lente* which commends itself to men such as myself who have had the fortune (whether good or bad,) to have been brought up as Conservatives and to cling to the sinking ship which is freighted with what some would call, old world ideas. They were, however, the ideas under which the empire was made and maintained, and if even they are now obsolete and about to fall to sleep, we can claim for them that "they have served their generation."

I am painfully aware that I am putting myself out of court entirely in the opinion of the school which now holds sway in this country and in England, when I say that I consider that the pace at which we are pulling our Ayran brethren is too great to last. It reminds me forcibly of a scene which I used to witness when a boy at school. A tall lanky sixth form boy was under orders to see that the little boys took exercise, and he used to ensure that desirable result by running across a large plain near a northern town dragging some wretched four-foot-nothing little boy after him, regardless of the relative length of the legs of each. If this meets the eye of any old St. Paulite, he will recal the incident. I think the illustration an apt one as applied to the manner in which go-ahead modern civilizers would force the pace in this country—a country which is just awakening from the effects of a narcotic under which it has slumbered for centuries.

In most countries which have a history, institutions have gradually grown up, lived their life, and died a natural death. Their place was taken by others which, growing with the old institutions, were in their vigour when the old institutions were in their dotage, and were ready to exercise their active influence on the community, with a touch on both the past and the growing future. In no country which has attained to greatness has an intermediate stage been over-leaped, and, a sudden jar been given to the body politic by the substitution, so to speak, of the grandson as the heir to the grandfather, passing over the son. A tendency to this practice is arising in England, but there are some who would question whether the greatness of the England of to-day is on a par

with what it was when Lord Palmerston guided the councils of the country, and when this tendency was not developed.

In India, more especially during recent years, the law of natural succession has been entirely abnegated, and in its stead a series of galvanic shocks have been given to the country which may have caused it to leap forward for a time, but, the lasting effect of which is very doubtful. Let us take Municipal institutions as an example.

In most countries the earliest form of social government was the village community. In almost every country it survived for generations and gradually gave place to a more central form of government. In India, by the force of circumstances, it yielded to the paternal government of the Englishmen who conquered the country, who made India their home, and who lived amongst the people and for the people. The race that remembers them is fast passing away, but their memory survives in the names of places called after them, and, as I have seen in one instance at Revelgunge, in shrines erected to their glory and worshipped at by the descendants of those, who erst worshipped as something more than human, the men who evolved order out of chaos and who enabled every man to sit in peace beneath his own vine and fig-tree.

Even we of the present generation can remember men whose advice and opinion was sought for in every question of difficulty that arose amongst natives themselves, and whose unwritten word was of more effect than the decrees of a hundred Moonsiffs, Judges, High Courts and Privy Councils would have been.

The first touch of the galvanic battery which has never since ceased working on society and politics in India was the introduction, at the expense of the State, of English education. I do not mean primary education. *It* was not properly introduced until long after, and no one takes a greater interest in primary education than I do, or admires the principle which maintains it more than I do. I refer to the system of educating at the expense of the State, young men whom their parents can well afford to educate, and, creating a class of semi-English educated men who will not dig, but to beg are not ashamed. Education in foreign languages has, as a rule, been left to private enterprise in other countries. In India by a galvanic touch it was made a State care. A new generation of men arose, who, as might be expected, were intolerant of the paternal government under which their parents had prospered, and were anxious to strike out a new line for themselves. The time had come and the man was not wanting to work the battery. That electric eel of Governors, Sir George Campbell, came just in the nick of time, and once more the galvanic touch was applied to the country. About this time, too, the influence



of party-government in England began to shed its baneful influence over this country; an influence which every well-wisher of India would fain see come to an end.

We all remember the beginning of *representative* institutions started by that well-meaning though dogmatical ruler Sir George Campbell. The ryot was to leave his plough and to hasten to the station to take his seat on the Bench side by side with the Raj Kumar of some noble house. The *Teli* was to wash off in haste the traces of his trade and hie him to the same august assembly. All classes were to be represented, and an ideal bed of justice was to be devised from materials which had about the same elements of cohesion as oil and water have. A new era, in short, was to dawn on the country. The battery was applied and the unpaid Magistracy of England was introduced into India. Where are the representative ryots now? In one district where a zealous Magistrate caught a *real* ryot, and made him an Honorary Magistrate, that ryot came with fear and trembling. He would probably have felt himself more at home in the dock. He ventured not in until the proceedings were over, and then *without* his shoes crept in to make his salaam to the *Hakim* and his brother Honorary Magistrate, and to enquire "*kya hookum hai.*"

The representative ryot died a natural death, the galvanic force that created him spent itself, and the really representative men—those who represented wealth and property in the various districts—survived, and have up to the present formed useful consultative bodies in the various districts of Bengal. These men would, in the ordinary course of things, have been consulted by district officers as they always used to be on the various requirements of the districts. They were not the result of galvanism. The result of galvanism has disappeared and the ryot is not recognized *quâ*-ryot, as a factor in the new scheme which is about to be introduced into the country. The land had rest for some time after this shock had been applied. Famine and war occupied the attention of both the governing classes and those governed. One touch of the battery, however, was given and Calcutta became an elective Municipality. If ever a town in this part of India was fit to manage its own affairs, one would have supposed that Calcutta was. We see the melancholy result to-day: a town decimated by cholera, a corporation taking no steps to carry out the rudiments of sanitation, and a Commission issued by the Local Government to enquire into the state of things that the inaction of the Corporation has brought about; a state of things which would disgrace a third rate continental city. The galvanic push which was given to the cause of representative institutions in Calcutta has not, therefore, been an unmixed advance towards

civilization. It has shown, however, the temporary nature of any unnatural growth in Municipal institutions: as temporary as the existence of a tree suddenly stuck in loose soil and without roots to support it.

It was not, however, until the last few years, that men became conscious, that new hands had got to work on the galvanic battery, and during those few years the country has been experimented on in a manner unknown in its previous history.

The history of galvanic action on India both socially and politically has been, where completed, a repetition of history: a story of action and violent reaction. There is but one exception to this, and that is the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act. The galvanic influence exercised by that measure of so-called Liberal Legislation still remains. It has been diverted, however, into a channel, which its authors never dreamt of (at least charity would assume so) and the vernacular press of to-day has been vitalized into a course of treason, disloyalty and scurrilous abuse of every European, both non-official and official, whose actions may have incurred the displeasure of the semi-educated Babu, whose strength lies in scurrility and whose fighting power lies in fulsome flattery of those through whom he thinks he can obtain his desire over his enemy. The tone of the native press, both English and vernacular, with one or two honourable exceptions, is worse now than it was when it was deemed necessary to place it under restraint. The Russian advance is in some papers openly paraded, and the fact of the benevolent intentions of Russia are advertised all but in name. Yet we are told by a statesman who has gagged the national press in Ireland, that it is outside the purview of Liberal statesman to do the same in India. In the one country, the teaching of disloyalty in the press bore fruit in the shape of outrage and assassination, until the voice of England declared, in no uncertain tone, that such ravings must be suppressed. In India, presumably, the Liberal Cabinet hesitates to act until such time as the ravings of seditious Babus have excited some of their more warlike countrymen into overt acts of treason.

The great scheme of local self-government was the next form in which galvanism was applied to Eastern apathy. The scheme is on its trial, and it would be unjust as well as ungenerous to predict its failure. It is to be hoped it will be a success, though with the experience of Calcutta before us, the hope seems an over sanguine one. It seems out of the range of possibility that in a country like India, where caste predominates everything, we should suddenly be able to find, in all the small towns of the country, men who will abrogate caste interest and will work for the common good of all. Such men may be found. It is sincerely to be hoped that they will, but the



experiment has yet to be tried and, if it fail, the damage that will have been done will not be compensated for by the reflexion that the experiment was tried with the best possible intentions. It may be argued that municipal institutions have up to date done good work. The argument is a true one, but, apart from the obvious reply to this, "If they have done, and are doing well, why not let well alone?" There is the insuperable answer that these institutions have done well because they are under the guidance and control of responsible officers, and because those who compose the various public Boards are *selected* as being men of integrity and public spirit. Can any one predict the same for our future Boards about to be *elected* by the *people*, (we are told,) but in reality by their own understrappers and dependents. About to be elected, too, to a position where public funds will be at their disposal, practically uncontrolled by officers whose training has fitted them for such control, and the traditions of whose life have been associated with public probity and morality. We all can remember the hopes that were excited amongst the *Babul's Babuli* when local self-government was first started. The idea of most of those persons was that Government was to collect the money which they were to have the privilege of spending. The *people* took no interest in the matter, and up to the present day they take no interest in it. It was only the briefless pleader, and the disappointed *ummedwar*, who swelled the cry which was started by the so-called leaders of society, and the cry wore itself out, although the scheme has been some years in coming to maturity. Local self-government ceased to be attractive when the present Lieutenant-Governor, in some of his addresses to would be Self-Governors, plainly told them that it was not to be all beer and skittles, and that real hard work was to be exacted from those who wished to pose as rulers and not as workers.

However, the scheme is on its trial, and the question is *sub judice*. It is hoped it will be successful.

The next turn of the wheel of galvanism brought to the surface the Ilbert Bill. The less said about that unfortunate measure the better. The country was, by it, plunged into a ferment from which it has never rightly recovered. Race animosities, which were dead or dying, were galvanized into life. It is to be feared that many years must elapse before the state of harmony which prevailed previous to the introduction of that ill-fated measure, will have been restored. The ill-feeling which exists at present between the uneducated Europeans and all but the really enlightened natives, had its origin in the Ilbert Bill. A galvanic shock was given to impel the native on the path leading to equality. The reaction set in very speedily, and has resulted in a measure which has

done more to accentuate race distinctions than the previous law did to minimize the effects of which the Ilbert Bill was introduced. At the same time galvanism was not suffered to remain idle amongst the agricultural community of Bengal.

A Rent Bill was introduced, with assertions that the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill was requisite to save a starving peasantry and to make the wilderness blossom like the rose.

The battery in this case was, however, charged too highly, and it soon became manifest that the shock was one too great for even Radical galvanizers to view with equanimity. The pressure has by degrees been taken off and principles which, we were told, were vital to anything like a proper Rent Law have one after another been abandoned. The Bill now before the Council is the shadow of its former self, and would be repudiated with scorn by those who originally fathered the measure. This is an instance in which the galvanic charge has been by degrees lessened by the workers of the battery, and it is to be hoped that the current will be removed altogether and the country propelled towards a settlement of the Landlord and Tenant question by the more safe, though less showy, means of careful local enquiry. I have briefly but as fully as the space allowed me will permit, sketched the course of jerky, galvanic legislation to which this country has been subjected since the advent of the late Viceroy to power. Of the four principal measures introduced, the results have been—

- (1) A seditious and disloyal native press ;
- (2) An act which nominally removes, but actually accentuates race distinctions ;

(3) The ghost of a land act coupled with a feeling of intense uneasiness amongst the entire agricultural community, and a measure of local self-Government which, having been found unworkable in Calcutta, is to be introduced into the mofussil. Its wings are to be clipped, however, in most of the places which might be supposed to be fit for local self-Government. The Suburban Municipality, Patna, and Mozufferpore, are not supposed to be fit to be entrusted with the privilege of electing their own Chairman, a privilege which Rungpore, Bakurgunge and Bogra are considered capable of possessing.

To the most ardent worshipper of free institutions, there seems a grim irony about this : and it is intensified by the issue of the Commission lately, and very properly, appointed for the purpose of bringing the metropolitan corporation to a sense of its shortcomings. Is it too much to hope that, with a new régime, an end will come to this sensational spasmodic legislation ?

The hopes of us, Conservatives, old fogies, men with old world ideas, *laudatores temporis acti*, or, whatever we may be called,



have long been at a very low ebb. But "there is a tide in the affairs of men," and I am not without hope that it is setting in for us and those who think with us. Subjecting a country like India to great and sudden changes is very much like dragging a child that cannot walk across the country at the heels of a man. When one thinks what the country was but a few years ago, nay, even what it is now, the unsuitableness becomes manifest of forcing upon it Western institutions which have taken centuries to mature, and have grown with the growth of the people amongst whom they flourish. We are forcing upon a people, who but yesterday were slaves to the first freebooter who chose to exploit the country, institutions for which our countrymen fought and laboured for some four hundred years, and for which, by gradual growth from national childhood to national manhood, they have become fitted. There is no reason why the people of this country should not become fitted for these various free institutions in the course of time, as, there is no reason why a young child should not become a very skilful engine-driver; but we would hardly entrust the child with the charge of a locomotive drawing a train full of people and property. The tendency of recent legislation has been, however, to emulate him who would put a locomotive into the hands of a child. This is illustrated by the legislation under which the lives of people are about to be entrusted into the hands of men, whose ideas of sanitation are somewhat similar to those which prevailed in England in the time of James the First.

The elite of the educated Bengalis, the Corporation of Calcutta, has shown itself painfully unversed in the rudiments of sanitation. What is to be expected from the rural Baboo whose compound is a cess-pool, who makes, clean it is true, the outside of the cup and platter, but the outside only?

Before Ilbert Bills, Rent Bills and local self-government Bills were started, we heard nothing of any desire on the part of the people for them. The land had rest and a good feeling was growing up between the two races. I think the result of this galvanic legislation has not been to improve that feeling. Is it too much to urge that we should go back to that time, to the pre-scientific legislation period, and resume the education of the people that was rudely interrupted by the Government telling them that they had suddenly become men, and were no longer to be schooled. Ought we not rather to recal them now into the class-room, and let them know gently but firmly that their injudiciously granted emancipation is over, and that they have yet much to learn before they are fit to go out into the political world and take their

places with those whose education began at Runnymede, and who have, from that day to this, been learning in a political school, not conducted on an anti-corporal punishment system. The people of this country are no more fit as yet to exercise the freedom which the people of England do, than is the most educated and advanced Babu fit to fight the English lad, who through much fighting and tribulation has attained to the proud position of cock of his school: and the sooner that fact is recognized, the better will it be for the country. What I have written is, I am aware, fearful treason against existing theories. However, out of the fulness of the heart the mouth hath spoken, and although the fortunes of the party to which I am proud to belong, may be at present at a very low ebb, I do not think it unbecoming to let its voice be heard, even though the cry be in the wilderness. I am as anxious as any one for the advancement of my native brethren, and I may, perhaps, in my own quiet way, be in the habit of doing as much for them as others do. I consider, however, that we are going by entirely a wrong path to ensure their advancement. We are projecting them by galvanic leaps and bounds along the road to civilization, but the permanency of their tenure of the position into which they are being projected is only to be measured by the duration of the initial shock. That shock cannot last for ever, and the result will be a recoil. It will be a gradual withering of the plant of free institutions, which is being set in a soil not yet prepared to bear it. It would be well, before it be too late, to cut down the unwieldy tree, and plant in its stead a sapling which will grow with the political growth of the country and strengthen as the people become strong.

Such a plant will hereafter, in years to come, be likely to cast a grateful shade over the land in which it has grown up. The full-grown tree which recent legislation has sought to transplant into the soil which cannot bear it, is likely, on the other hand, to be fit for nothing but tinder within a very short space of time. Indian legislation should be conducted under one motto. By adhering to that motto our fathers ruled the country and ruled it well. That motto is

FESTINALENTE.



## ART. VII.—ENGLISH-WOMEN IN INDIA.

**I**N the olden days when communication between England and India was slow and tedious, and when the journey either to or from India was considered a great undertaking, there were fewer English-women in India than there are now ; but the few who were here—knowing how difficult, nay, almost impossible—it was for them to return to England for many years, made up their minds to be happy out here, and it is more than doubtful if the troubles of Indian domestic life have not been considerably increased by the facility with which the doctor's pet prescription "go home" can be complied with.

Very few, if any, young girls who have left their own home, and all their friends and relations, to come to India with their husbands, can hope to escape entirely from that disease of the mind "Home-sickness." In former days, however great the longing might be for Home and for the dear Home faces, for the fresh, health-giving breezes of the moors, or the cosy fireside, for the sound of a mother's loving voice, or the kindly touch of a father's hand, however great the longing might be, it had to be fought against and conquered, if not entirely (for it is very hard to overcome the home-sickness of home-loving English-woman)—at least sufficiently so, to prevent its assuming a chronic form.

But now it is different ; there is no tedious voyage of three or four months between the Indian and the English home, and Anglo-Indians have gradually become imbued with the idea that "going home" is the cure for all evils ; and so the feeling of home-sickness is not fought against as it used to be. It gains ground, and after a few years of Indian life the young wife's thoughts begin to turn towards her own country, the unresisted longing tells upon her spirits, as the climate does upon her health ; the kind doctors recommend a visit to Europe, and suggest that it would be well for baby, too, to escape another hot season, and although the idea is rejected at first, it is accepted in the end.

Very often the husband, being himself imbued with the belief that all wives must go home periodically, urges the advisability of the doctor's advice being followed ; the passage is taken, and the woman, who, a few years before, arrived in India, fully determined to fulfil her marriage vow in its entirety—leaves her husband, and joins the crowd of her country-women who are to be seen every season on the decks of the homeward bound steamers.

There are many soothing salves that these ladies can apply

to their consciences—should they prick them for deserting their husbands :—" Did not dear John or Arthur insist upon it, and did not doctor C. or doctor B. tell them that they really ought to go before their health was completely ruined? Was it not better for dear John or Arthur to lose them for just twelve months, than that he should be burdened with a sickly wife, or perhaps lose her altogether?"

There is a great deal of truth in this ; no doubt the husbands do urge their wives to go home ; but what else can they do? No man likes to think that his wife is sacrificing her health by remaining with him, and when he sees her pale and listless, taking little or no interest in anything connected with her Indian life, and too often really suffering severely from the many ailments that fall to the lot of European women in India, he willingly consents to her going to Europe. His experience has shown him that most men have to send their wives home, and he must be a brave man who would refuse to believe in the necessity for it.

He must consent to pose as a hard-hearted husband who is sacrificing his wife's health for his own selfish motives ; or perhaps as the unnatural father who refuses to allow his wife to take their child home, although everyone says that the poor little thing ought to go. He must submit to the still more trying condemnation of his own conscience, which pricks him whenever he sees his wife's pale face, or feels the touch of his child's feverish little hand—it is more than he can stand, and he takes their passage.

A few brief years of happiness, and then it seems almost inevitable that husband and wife must separate, but not quite so ; for sometimes a wife refuses to be separated from her husband for the sake of her own health, or even for that of her child ; and sometime the want of sufficient funds to meet the expense of the journey and of the double household, acts as a deterrent, in the same way that the long voyage used to in former days.

Amongst the higher grades of the different services, and in the Civil Service, this deterrent is seldom felt, but very few of the lower grade men, or of the Uncovenanted Services can afford to send their families to Europe, until it becomes necessary to do so for the sake of the education of the children, and to economise the heavy expenditure that their schooling entails.

Up to this point, it is doubtful if the poorer man is not better off, as concerns his household comfort and happiness, than the richer man. There is no apprehension of his home being broken up before a certain time has elapsed, he has his wife with him, and feels more settled, and he sees his children for many more years of their lives than his richer brethren. His wife not being troubled with the idea of "going home" makes



herself happy out here, and her husband's house as comfortable and bright as she can, undisturbed by the constant idea of having to sell off everything and start for Europe.

This period of an English-woman's life in India is undoubtedly the happiest, and nothing but the most imperative necessity should induce them to shorten it. The difficulties of house-keeping in India are no doubt considerably greater than in Europe. It can hardly be otherwise, considering how much larger the establishments are, and how untrustworthy most, if not all, native servants are; but still with good management the difficulties can be overcome to a great extent, and those that cannot be cured, can be endured. When a young wife first starts house-keeping, she is about as wise as Dora Copperfield concerning the requirements of her household. Her ignorance of the language leads her into ridiculous and sometimes awkward mistakes, and she is liable to commit a few social blunders. But these troubles are soon overcome; no one is inclined to be hard on the mistakes of a new-comer, if she is pleasant and sociable, but if she is exclusive and stiff, she will find her social life neither an easy nor a pleasant one, for there are many people in Indian society who are very touchy and easily offended.

Well-trained servants never even smile at the most absurd mistakes that their masters or mistresses make; and although they always take advantage of the ignorance of the latter, it is only just at first that they can do so with impunity. No one must expect to find it any easy matter to manage a number of native servants, who all have different castes, not one of whom have anything in common with their employers; whose ideas of honesty, cleanliness and truthfulness are not merely vague, but do not exist. Their delinquencies must be taken philosophically. It is useless to make oneself miserable because the sugar, tea, &c., &c., is always being stolen, or the hens will not lay eggs (according to your *khansamah's* account, although you are well aware that those that he makes you pay for, are from your own fowls), or because you caught your cook in the very act of straining the soup or the jelly through an old vest or sock, or you find dirty finger marks on the edges of your beautiful new albums, or your pet vases and ornaments broken by the person who in India answers to the proverbial cat in an English house, namely, "no one,"—"it broke of itself" you are told, and no amount of investigation will throw any light on the subject. These are daily annoyances that must be expected, and are rather increased than otherwise by constant upbraidings or punishments.

There are many things that combine to make life in India very pleasant, during the first years of residence, before the family, and the troubles increase, and before the thought of



probable separation is entertained. There is a freedom and independence, in all but the largest stations, that is very enjoyable : the possibility of indulging in any favorite pursuit or amusement, (such as gardening,) and above all, the open-hearted hospitality that is universal through the whole of India, are among the most attractive features of Indian life. To those who enjoy even moderately good health, and whose incomes are not so limited as to prevent their joining in the numerous amusements that are to be had in most moderate-sized stations, or of their taking an occasional trip to the hills, an Indian life is far from an unpleasant one, and can always be made bright and enjoyable, except in very small stations, where there are no amusements of any description, and where the monotony is most depressing.

But India is essentially a country for the rich. To be poor is to be miserable, for comfort is a most expensive luxury, and without it both health and strength must give way. Fairly good living is essential to health, and many things that are looked upon as luxuries, and can very easily be dispensed with in a cooler and healthier climate, are necessities in India. The income that is sufficient to keep a family comfortably, while living together, is not sufficient to provide the same amount of comfort when two establishments have to be kept up, and it is then that the shoe begins to pinch ; how tightly it pinches is well known to many an Anglo-Indian whose children are being educated at home, and who finds that one by one all his little comforts have to be given up to satisfy the demands of those who are good enough to take care of his children, provided they are handsomely paid for so doing.

Not unfrequently those demands become so heavy, that the question arises of the advisability of the mother going home to take charge of the children herself, and in some cases it is necessary for her to do so ; but a wise woman will defer that evil day as long as possible, and not leave her husband to endure a life of constant self-sacrifice and discomfort, if she can by any means prevent it.

The richer men do not suffer to the same extent as far as their personal comfort is concerned. They can afford to pay high and get the best servants available, and to live well. But even they cannot altogether escape the discomforts of a divided household. They are worse off than bachelors, in that they have known the comforts of a home, and have grown accustomed to them. They have dropped all their bachelor habits, and find it irksome to resume them, and to have to attend to household matters. With all the cares of a married man they have none of the comforts.

That there are many men who take the constant desertion of their wives philosophically, and make themselves perfectly



happy without them, is a matter of regret, for it tells a very unflattering tale of those wives, who may be termed the butterflies of Indian society, and who hardly come under the heading of English-women *in* India, for they are visitors only, who occasionally favor their husbands with their presence. These cases can only occur amongst those whose wives are not all to them that they should be, and to whom the expense of such a divided existence is of no consequence. The voluntary absence of the wife causes a sore feeling, and although the patience of the husband may be great, or although he may look on her periodical departure with resignation or even relief, the inward consciousness that if she cared anything about him, she would at least make an effort to remain with him, lessens his affection for her, and after an absence of two or three years a breach is made between them that is never thoroughly healed. There is no longer the same unity of thought or feeling that there was in those few happy years before she went home.

This feeling arises quite irrespective of the fact of there being money enough to provide for the divided household; the hearts become divided, as well as the households, and while the husband is either too proud or too indifferent to desire his wife to rejoin him, she clings to her English home and her children and persuades herself that her duty lies with the latter.

When at last she comes out she naturally leaves half of her heart with her children, and unless she resolutely determines not to give in to the feeling of intense longing that she has—and that she will have for years—to be with them again, to see their fair young faces, to feel the touch of their soft little hands, and to hear the sound of their voices—it will not be long before she finds that the old loss of spirit and appetite and the old feeling of lassitude and weariness returns, and then she becomes an easy prey to fever, and all the other ailments incidental to a residence in India, and another visit to Europe is considered necessary.

That English-women suffer greatly in India is certain, and the life that they are to a certain extent bound to lead, does not tend to lessen the evil. Whether they live in a large and gay station or in a small and dull one, the effect of the climate seems to be the same. In the first instance, late hours, and constant excitement, rather induce than ward off its injurious effects, and the excessive dulness and monotony of mofussil life have a most depressing effect, especially where it is increased by the absence of children. The life that is led by a large proportion of ladies in India is not such as would, even in a better climate, keep them in perfect health. They do not take enough healthy exercise.

In almost every part of India the morning is the only time when walking or riding exercise can be taken, and, as a rule, most gentlemen go out in the morning ; but very few ladies follow their good example. In Calcutta where the great and depressing heat of the day, especially calls for early rising, to enable people to reap the benefit of the only cool or refreshing air that is to be had, it is a matter of regret that so small a proportion of the ladies are to be seen out in the morning.

Some few are to be met with riding, but not many, and a rather larger number driving, but for every one who is out, taking advantage of the first freshness (if there is any freshness to be had) of the morning, there must be twenty who are making up for the loss of sleep entailed by late hours over night. In the middle of the day, when it is trying to the very strongest constitution to be exposed to the heat and glare of the streets, a Calcutta lady, who is in society, must leave her own house, where in a cool morning gown, and with a good punkah going, she can enjoy, at least, as much coolness as it is possible to get, and dressed in fashionable costume, that is quite unsuited to the climate, drive out to pay her calls.

It is quite useless to preach against this foolish and trying custom in this case as in many others : custom is stronger than reason, calls must be made within regulation hours, and small bonnets or hats worn, even at the risk of sunstroke or apoplexy.

The regular evening drive is a great boon to all Anglo-Indians, but there is not so much benefit to be derived from it, as from the morning ride or drive as the ground is still hot from the rays of the sun. In most stations where there are enough Europeans to make it possible, there is generally Lawn Tennis of an evening, and it is a pity that more ladies do not play it. That they do not, arises from several reasons, principally the want of strength or energy, and the evident dislike of the gentlemen to have their sets "spoilt" by the lady players. The former cause cannot be avoided, but the remedy for the latter is in their own hands. If those who can play a *fairly* good game, would persevere and not rest satisfied until they could play a *thoroughly* good one, the discouragement that they receive from the gentlemen-players would cease. They should practise amongst themselves, until they feel that they can join in a set without being accused privately, if not publicly, of spoiling it.

The exercise is invaluable and the recreation hardly less so. After a long hot day, spent within doors, with very little to break the monotony, and a great deal to enervate and weaken the system, and fret the temper, a good game of Lawn Tennis acts as a tonic, and does good to both mind and body.



The one danger of Tennis is, that the players become very warm and are liable to take a chill. This can easily be avoided if they will take the precaution of having a light shawl to put on when they stop playing,—during that delightful half hour before they all separate, wherein they discuss all matters, private or public, and listen to, or relate the latest thing in the way of station gossip. It would be wiser to go home and change instead of indulging in this half-hour's rest, but that is not always possible.

Unmarried girls in England, as a rule, take a very fair amount of exercise, and the change of climate generally tells upon them less than upon their married sisters, because, as a rule, they have more time, more strength, and also more inducement to take exercise. When once they are married, the cares and troubles of a family soon begin to interfere with their recreations. When there are two or three little ones to be cared for, who cannot safely be left to the tender mercies of native ayahs, (the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel!) and who cause the young mother's rest to be broken at night, the morning ride is gradually discontinued, or if persevered in, is not enjoyed as it was when she could rise in the morning refreshed by a good night's rest. Her pleasant little camping expeditions have to be given up, for it is difficult, and rather unsafe to take a small family into camp. Her life, if she lives in a small station, or on a factory, becomes duller and duller, and unless she gets a change occasionally, is likely to effect both her spirits and her health. There are numbers of English-women in the tea and indigo districts, especially in the former, who often pass weeks without seeing another lady. The roads are frequently impassible for months together, and the few neighbours who might meet together for Tennis, or for a quiet evening at Whist, are unable to do so, on account of the wretched state of the roads.

The monotony of mofussil life in India has a great deal to do with the want of health amongst those Anglo-Indians who are unable to go away for a change now and again. In large stations where there are a number of Europeans this is hardly felt, but for every large station, there are half-a-dozen small ones, where there is nothing doing, no excitement or amusement of any description, and where the few who are stationed there, live the dullest and most uninteresting life possible.

It is perhaps in the dulness of these small stations that the excuse lies, for the amount of gossip and scandal that goes on in them—but what is to be said for the larger one? It is a curious and most melancholy fact that there is hardly a station in India, large or small, where the residents live in harmony together. Whether the climate is to blame for making people

peculiarly touchy and ready to take offence, or the want of healthy employment and amusement gives them too much time to think over small and trifling matters, or from whatever cause it arises, it is an undeniable fact that there are few stations where the residents pull well together.

Some people say it is entirely the fault of the ladies, but it is hardly fair to put it all down to them, as it not unfrequently happens that unpleasantnesses arise about purely official matters. It is hardly possible for two men to disagree seriously on official matters, and for it not to effect their private life. It is fortunately a rare occurrence that if the quarrel is a private one, it is allowed to affect the official conduct of either party, but it does effect the sociability of everyone concerned. For any two families to be on bad terms with each other, inflicts an injury on all their friends. Mrs. A. and Mrs. B. quarrel, no one knows, or cares why; but the result is that no one can ask them to meet each other, and if Mrs. A. is invited Mrs. B. is hurt at it, and if Mrs. B. is asked Mrs. A. is hurt, and so it goes on. It is almost useless trying to heal these absurd little station squabbles, which are not worthy of the name of quarrels, the original cause is frequently forgotten, but the sore is kept open by a score of small annoyances. Nowhere does the advice of the poet to "beware of entrance to a quarrel,"—need to be followed more carefully than in Indian society. If once a slight disagreement occurs, the spark is quickly fanned into a flame that consumes all former friendliness, and injudicious advisers are seldom wanting to carry tales of what each party has done and said, and so add fuel to the flames, and the quarrel spreads, and others are drawn into it, even against their will. It is marvellous how the most peaceful and innocent people are drawn into these storms in tea-cups. They may not have the slightest wish to annoy, or offend anyone, and yet they are accused of doing so; a sympathetic friend or acquaintance finds out a reason for the imaginary affront, and there are all the materials necessary for a good station squabble. There would be many fewer of these senseless and annoying *brouilleries* the parties concerned would refuse to listen to any third party, but ask each other plainly in what they have offended. How often the answer would be, "so and so says that you said so and so," &c., &c., when no such thing has been said.

Not unfrequently the time-vexed question of precedence gives rise to grievous heartburnings, and although the subject is one that generally concerns the fair sex, strange to say, it is one that the gentlemen frequently feel aggrieved about: Mr. A. would like to know why Mrs. B. was taken into dinner before his wife, and so on, and so on. Any one



who has tried to pour oil on the troubled waters of these petty and ridiculous, but never ending quarrels, must know what a hopeless task it is. It is exceedingly difficult even to steer clear of them, but the surest way to do so is to believe nothing and repeat nothing of the ordinary station gossip; and if any coolness arises, go direct to the offended party and ask the reason of the coolness; if it arises with a friend whose friendship you do not care to lose, and if it is not, why let the matter pass, but be careful neither to talk of it, nor listen to anything about it, except from the parties themselves.

Concerning the subject of gossip and scandal, there is little to be said. "Ill weeds grow apace," and these weeds of Indian society appear to thrive and assume large proportions in every district in India. Who the originators are, and whether the many hurtful and annoying scandals that get spread about are the result of malicious falsehood, or of innocent gossip, that gathers moss, or rather mud as it rolls, is never found out. All scandal is put down to the ladies' account, but a large amount of it could with justice be accredited to the clubs, chummeries and mess-rooms. That every piece of scandal that is once afloat, is caught up and repeated, is hardly to be wondered at, considering how appetising a well seasoned dish of scandal is to most people, even to the nobler sex, especially when it is contrasted with the very weak and tasteless topics of conversation that are usually dished up for their edification.

There are certain subjects of conversation—if it can be called conversation—that ought to be tabooed at all social gatherings, so heartily tired are most people of hearing them; and yet they are always being brought forward. The servants, the boxwallah, the bazar, and the children, ought to be excluded from polite society and kept for the private edification of those who wish to hear about them. The subject of children and their perfections are interesting only to their parents and very intimate friends; the boxwallah's boxes may be full of the greatest household treasures and bargains; the bazar rates may be never so dear or so cheap, and the servants never so troublesome, or so invaluable, but it is wearisome to listen to, or to be obliged to talk of these subjects always.

It would surely be better to talk *up* to the tastes of the well-educated, intellectual portion of the community, or even to listen to them, than to talk *down* to the level of that portion of it, who are content day after day to ring the changes on these few and uninteresting topics. It is wonderful with what renewed interest they are brought forward on all occasions: a few remarks on general news, a few grumbles at the rate of exchange, and insensibly the talk slips into the old grooves

unless, indeed, there is a savory dish of scandal to be discussed, a poor victim, probably an innocent one, to be sacrificed by the scandle-mongers.

There would be fewer of these pests of society if there were fewer idle people. Idleness tempts many to break the eleventh commandment: ("Mind your own business, and let your neighbour mind his,") who if they had plenty of occupation would have no temptation to do so. Most ladies keep a tailor at work all the year round, and unless their family is a large one, have no occasion to do much plain needle-work themselves. It is much better for a lady who has only her own needlework to do, not to keep a tailor; where there are no children it is an unnecessary luxury, and leaves more time on her hands than is advisable in a country where there are so few means available of occupying it profitably or agreeably. There are many hours in the day, especially in the hot weather, that have to be got through somehow; the busy housewife, who has children to look after and work for, and who is not rich enough to employ a numerous staff of ayahs, bearers, and durzies, finds no difficulty in getting rid of the hours. But what can those who have no children and plenty of servants do during the long hours when their husbands are in office, or on their factories? They lead an idle life, and not unfrequently a useless life.

With no excitement in their lives, and little, if any change, unless they keep themselves well employed, and occupy themselves with more wholesome subjects than those already mentioned, *viz.*, their servants, &c., &c., and the shortcomings of their neighbours, their tone becomes perceptibly lower, until at last they do not even care for any more rational method of passing their time, and allow all their talents to become rusty and useless. How often is the request for music or singing met with the unsatisfactory answer: "I used to play, but I am quite out of practise."

In the case of those who have not the means to indulge in a life of idleness, the result is too often the same, although the end is reached by a different route,—a different, and a very much less blameworthy, but a very much less easy one.

The woman whose whole time is occupied with household matters, and the care of young children, can hardly be blamed for allowing her piano to remain unopened, and her sketch book untouched; if all her energies are devoted to making her husband's income cover their expenses, and her talents to the cutting out and contriving of small garments, it is not to be wondered at that in time her thoughts and ideas rarely rise above these matters. There are a number of English-women in India who lead as busy a life as any English house-



wife, with many more discomforts and annoyances, and none of the healthy pleasures of English home life. The trials and troubles of this numerous class are so many, that they must have a chapter to themselves.

## CHAPTER II.

THE general idea amongst the friends and relations of Anglo-Indians who have no experience of India themselves, is, that everyone living out here is well off, and leads a life of ease and luxury. It is hardly necessary to say that this idea is a false one. For every "Burra Sahib" who draws good pay and can afford every luxury that is to be had for money, there are a dozen "Chota Sahibs" whose pay, although it appears to be very good in the eyes of his home people, is barely sufficient to keep him in even a moderate amount of comfort.

When a young girl marries a man whose income is not less than Rs. 500 a month, her friends and relations naturally think that that sum is sufficient to ensure her having a very comfortable home, and when the amount reaches Rs. 700 or 800, they conclude that she and her husband are very well off. If there are no children, and no old debts to be paid off, they are, if not rich, at least very comfortably off, but otherwise they cannot be said to be so.

In the first place, Rs. 700 does not represent £70 as it used to, and as most people at Home still calculate that it does. They would appreciate the difference if for every £70 of their income they received only £57. Even this in the eyes of the good folks at Home, who probably married on much less, for very few professional men start in life with that much income, is a good one; but in India it dwindles away until it is so small, that the amount of comfort derived from it is quite disproportionate to the amount of hard work and the hardships that have to be gone through to obtain it. There are many expenses to be met with in India that do not occur in England.

In the first place, all Anglo-Indians are exiles, and must pay a heavy tax for being so, as when their leave is due, they have to take a long and expensive journey before they reach their home, and they must put by some portion of their income every year, to enable them to go to Europe and back, if not for their own sakes, for that of their wives and children. English children, that is to say, children born of pure European parents, cannot stand the climate of India, they sicken very quickly, and even if they live, they grow up weak and feeble not only in body but in moral strength as well. The income that was ample when the young couple started in life, is no longer so when the expense of sending three or four or even one

or two children to Europe has to be incurred. The income does not increase in proportion to the expenses. The children have to be sent home and kept there at a ruinous cost for a poor man, suitable provision has to be made for them in case of their father's death, and the subscriptions to the funds are some of them very heavy. A subscription of Rs. 70 per month does not ensure by any means a large amount for a widow and three or four children, in the usual pension or insurance funds, but what man in England would think of paying that amount out of an income of from £ 500 to 800? If the wife, as well as the children, live in Europe, and the husband has to live sparely and lodge poorly to provide for them, he may well regret having ever married, but if his wife remains with him, and takes upon herself—as a good wife should—the burden of all household economies and worries, their Indian home may be a very happy one, although it is nothing like the luxurious one that their home-folk imagine it to be.

But how often does it happen that a wife remains with her husband the full term of his service? The few—the very few—who do so are, without doubt, the happiest wives in India. Their marriages are generally those of affection, and having chosen their husband from affection, and not from interested motives, they stay with him, as a matter of course, without allowing the thought of a possible separation to disturb their happiness, and who never hesitate—when the time comes for their children to require a change to a healthier climate—to part with them, rather than with their husband. They marry the husband and not the children, and they can find many people in Europe to take care of their children (in consideration of being handsomely paid for so doing), and to bring them up as well, perhaps even better, (although no mother will admit it) than they can; but who can take care of the husband? Who will attend to those small comforts that he has grown accustomed to, or nurse him in sickness, or make his home, probably a lonely one in some small out-station, bright and cheerful, and by entering into all his cares and troubles, lessen their power to depress and dishearten him? Who will do this—if a wife deserts her post, and leaves him to bear the “heat and burden of the day” alone?

The struggle in leaving the children is a very hard one, and can only be fully understood by those who have gone through it themselves. Good and loving wives are generally good and loving mothers, and to part with their children for the best and brightest years of their life, is a trial that nearly breaks their hearts. The touch of those soft little hands, clinging to theirs, the sound of the merry voices, or the piteous look in the tearful eyes when the last farewell was—not spoken—for a farewell such



as that cannot be spoken, but pressed on the soft clinging lips, will haunt them for years, long years of absence during which they are deprived of all a mother's delight in seeing their little ones, and caring for them themselves. The mother knows that she will never see those *children* again; they will be nearly grown up when she meets them, and she will be almost a stranger to them; she knows this, and feels it deeply, and yet she also knows and feels, that deep as her grief may be at being deprived of her children, it would be still deeper if she had to be parted from her husband, and that her conscience would keep her on the rack, fearing all manner of evils for him, in the years of their separation.

That she also fears for her children is true, but the consciousness that she is away from them from no fault or choice of her own, but because her husband's lot, and consequently her own, is cast in a country in which they cannot thrive, makes the fear she entertains on their behalf, less unendurable than it would otherwise be. The very effort required to restrain, to a certain extent, the outward expression of her grief, lest by giving way to it she should make her husband think that she regretted having left them, helps her to subdue it; and, having remained with him, she is too generous to let him feel to the full extent the sacrifice she has made, or to allow her longing for her children to sadden his home, and prevent her from making it cheerful and bright.

Although ill-health is the usual reason for making a change to Europe "absolutely necessary," to most of the ladies who crowd the decks of the Homeward bound steamers, very few cases can be found where the woman who has nobly and unselfishly remained in India with her husband throughout his service, has suffered more than those who have wasted their lives and their substance in running backwards and forwards in search of health, although they have been exposed to the evil effects of the climate for many more years. In the end they are no doubt greatly broken down in health, but so also are many of those who have sought to avoid this natural consequence of a residence in such a climate as that of India, by running away from it every now and again.

The cost of educating children in England lays a heavy burden on the parents in India; at the rate of exchange that has prevailed of late years, it not unfrequently leaves them with barely enough to live upon, and the necessity of saving enough to defray the cost of the few journeys home that are possible and unavoidable, compels them to practise so strict an economy, that the "luxury" of an Indian life is beyond their reach.

As a rule, parents are very unselfish, and deny themselves a great many comforts that in their younger days they considered

indispensable, rather than run the risk of their children being less well educated and cared for than they would wish them to be, by placing them in cheaper, and perhaps less reliable, schools or families. What really careful or loving mother hesitates between the new dresses, &c., that she most certainly requires, and the extras that must be paid for her girlsevery now and again, or what father does not curtail his tailor's bills until his wife's ingenuity is taxed to the utmost to hide frayed edges, and worm seams, that his son may be kept at a first, instead of a second class school.

This life of constant self-denial and economy in every detail of household expenditure, however noble the motive of it may be, has an injurious effect on those who have to practise it year after year. The men do not, or at least should not, suffer from it to the same extent as the women, as the petty details of housekeeping do not fall to their share, and they have more change and variety in their lives. The perpetual struggle to make both ends meet, added to the sickness and anxiety that falls to their lot, causes most women to age very quickly. It is very seldom that they are "fat, fair and forty," unless "their lines have fallen in pleasant places," or they have no children.

Where there are children there must be anxiety, and although their presence in the house tends to brighten it, and give it a charm that is never present in the house that is without a child, the difficulties of rearing and training these tender little plants, in an atmosphere that is morally and physically unfit for them, is great; especially where there are not the means to admit of European nurses being employed.

In some parts of India the native servants are much better than in others, but nowhere are they sufficiently trustworthy to justify a mother in leaving her children in their charge. The best of them have no sense of truthfulness or honesty, and will yield to a child in everything, no matter how wrong it may be, and the worst of them are fiends who, to save themselves trouble, or to gratify themselves, will neglect or drug their little charges without the slightest compunction; and the mother who would not care to run the risk of having her child drugged to make it sleep soundly at night, or bathed in scalding hot water, or plunged into a cold bath, or otherwise ill-treated, must keep it with her at night, and bathe it herself, and never leave it in a native woman's charge more than she can possibly avoid.

In the case of elder children, it is not only their bodily health that has to be cared for, it is even more difficult to keep their minds healthy than their bodies. The whole moral tone of native servants is so low, as to render it a matter of necessity that children should be left with them as little as possible, if the parents wish them to retain their innocence and freshness.



Even the women have no idea of common decency, and will carry on a conversation of the lowest description before children. The difficulty in teaching Anglo-Indian children to be truthful, honest and straightforward, is only to be overcome by keeping them from the native servants, and this is not always easy when there are several of them, or when the mother is not strong.

The dread of seeing her little ones grow up with the taint of the country on them, and the misery of seeing their little faces grow thinner and paler year by year, often induces a mother to give in to the general custom, and go home for their sakes, and it serves in a great measure to reconcile her to the subsequent separation from them.

But the trial above all others that wrings a mother's heart is to see her child fading, gradually but surely, and to hear the kind doctor, who has wisely and considerately withheld his usually welcomed advice of "go Home," (knowing the difficulties in the way of its being followed) until he feels that he cannot conscientiously do so any longer, acknowledge that it is the only hope for the child's life; and yet be unable to follow it for want of the necessary funds.

A heavy debt is then added to other difficulties, for the money has to be borrowed, or the child's life sacrificed. If no English-women went home but those who were obliged to do so from some such urgent reason and not for every ordinary illness, and if they would resist more steadily the mistaken idea that all ailments are to be cured by a voyage to Europe, there would be fewer men living solitary and perhaps unsteady lives, and fewer sickly wives, wandering about in search of health and filling the pockets of the P. & O. Company's shareholders with their husband's hard-earned money.

For those who go home without very sufficient reason there is no excuse. There are many such to be seen on board the homeward steamers, languid, used-up invalids when they weep pathetic adieu to their too indulgent husbands at Garden Reach or the Appolo Bund, and bright, lively companions, ready to join in all the amusement that are going on before their tears are well dried. There is no sight that tends to make men more sceptical as to the virtues of womenkind, and the blessings of matrimony, or that lowers women more in their eyes than that of the easily-consoled wife, who laughs and chats gaily as she goes on shore with her last new admirer, to telegraph a touching message to her deserted husband. Of such as these the less said the better.

When once the difficulty of educating the children in Europe is over, and the sons are started in life, or the daughters can be brought out to live with their parents, the latter can enjoy

life far more. The Indian home that is blessed with fair young daughters, is perhaps as happy a one as there is to be found, and it is a pity that it is so soon broken up by their marriage; for well-educated, carefully brought up and lady-like daughters do not remain long unmarried in India, and although the general idea is that parents are never content until they have settled their daughters comfortably in life, many of them would prefer their remaining with them a few years longer, and settling in England, and not in the land of their own exile; which they themselves are only too glad to leave, and shake its dust from off their feet.

#### AN ENGLISH-WOMAN IN INDIA.



ART. VIII.—MEDIÆVAL INDIA.  
THE CHAGHTAI CONQUEST.

THREE weeks after the victory at Panipat, Bábar took possession of Agra, which the Lodi monarchs had made the capital of the Empire. Here he found Humaiun engaged in making friends, among whom were the family of the deceased Raja of Gwalior. From them, among other offerings, the conqueror received the *Koh-i-nur* Diamond, which, until it passed into British hands, was always believed to bring ill-fate on its possessor. Bábar extended his protection to the refugees; also making provision for the mother of the deceased Sultán, Ibrahim, and for her household. Nevertheless the Mughols were, for some time, most unpopular, and the surrounding country broke into chronic rebellion. The ills of climate were superadded; the hot weather had begun, the fields were desolate, there was neither food for man nor fodder for beast. The foreign troops, accustomed to the fresh breeze of the Afghan hills, were prostrated by heat and decimated by apoplexy. Many of the officers proposed to retire towards Kabul: but Bábar arrested the movement by a manly expostulation. Ultimately only one chief was found to abandon his leader.

To add to all this trouble, the terrible Sang Rám or Sanka, the Rána of Udaipur (who had affected friendliness so long as the Patháns ruled at Agra and the Chaghtais were afar) now appeared in arms and captured a fort held by a chief friendly to Bábar. Encouraged by this success Rána Sanka advanced towards Agra, with the intent to contest with the Mughol the possession of Hindustan. —

In their mountain fastnesses the chiefs of his race had presumed their independence, but their traditions regarded the people of the Northern mountains as the hereditary foes of the Aryan races, and as their destined supplanter in Hindustan. Rána Sanka defied the augury and formed a confederacy of the Rajputs to strike a blow for empire. The year 1526 wore away in minor operations. Humaiun conducted a successful campaign in Bahár, occupying Jaunpur. Bábar was put in possession of the Fort of Gwalior. Having thus swept his immediate field of action clear of Muslim rivals, Bábar assembled all his available forces; and in the month of October, marched south-west from Agra to relieve Biána which was threatened by the Rajput army.

By comparison of Bábar's narrative with that of Tod, the historian of the Rajputs, we find that some time was now wasted in negotiation. The Mughol army was encamped at Sikri,

about half way between Agra and Biána ; and Sanka had long been in the habit of corresponding with Bábar, whom—as already mentioned—it had been his interest to conciliate as long as their common foes, the Lodis, were in possession of the Empire. Whether or no Bábar still hoped to preserve friendly relations with him, and through him with the Rajputs, correspondence appears to have been still proceeding when the accidents of proximity brought it to a sudden end. One morning a young and zealous Mughol officer, named Aziz, being in temporary command of the advanced guard, precipitated events by going within ten miles of the Rajput camp at the head of fifteen hundred horse. The enemy's pickets gave the alarm and a large body of his cavalry attacked Aziz. Confusion ensued ; a yaktail standard was taken, and many Mughols were made prisoners. Bábar hurried reinforcements to the front. The retreat was covered by a superior officer named Mahammed Ali Jang, Bábar in person bringing up some guns in further support.

Bábar was now seriously anxious. As at Pánipat, he entrenched his army and protected his artillery. At the same time he bethought him of his sins, and resolved to abjure wine. The whole of the plate used in drinking festivities was ordered up, everything was hammered to pieces, the fragments were distributed among the needy. This public act by no means added to the spirits of the troops ; on the contrary, despondency and desertion became common, and Bábar found himself compelled to adopt the most solemn means of appealing to the zeal of his followers, and Swore them on the Koran to conquer or to die upon the field. At the same time he, for the first time in his life, allowed his beard to grow on the chin.

Thus wore away the pleasant cold season of those regions. On the first day of the Persian year—all Bábar's civilisation was borrowed from Persia—active steps were adopted. It was Tuesday the 12th of March 1527 when the adventurers, finding the Hindus hanging back, resolved to assume the offensive. The camp was broken up, and an advance made to Kánhwa, a march nearer to Biána. Here, once more, the guns were ranged in front, the musketeers being behind them, and the cavalry upon either flank. Some further skirmishing took place, and a last attempt at negotiation ; and then, on Saturday the 16th, Bábar attacked in person at the head of his cavalry, having by that time arrived within four miles of the enemy's camp. The danger, as is often happens, melted on being faced ; the Hindus were paralysed by the fire of the guns to which they had nothing to oppose, and by the weight of the men-at-arms mounted on Turkman and Afghan horses, by whom—according to Bábar's usual tactics—they were enveloped on flank and rear. They broke after a fierce struggle which



lasted all the day ; many of their chiefs and leaders fell ; a great number of prisoners were taken ; the doughty Sanka saved himself by flight. The pursuit, however, was inefficient, and Bábar takes great blame to himself for not having conducted it in person. A pyramid of the enemy's skulls, the usual Turkman fashion, commemorated the fight.

Among the chiefs who had fallen on the side of the Hindus had been Hassan Khán, who had succeeded to the government of Mewát over which his family had held a quasi-independent sway for nearly two centuries. The country was to the south-west of Delhi, a group of confused hills, about Kewári and Alwar. It is not clear what were its precise limits, but it must have been of considerable extent, since Bábar says that the revenue was over three "crores," meaning, apparently, about two hundred and forty thousand pounds of our money—more than the whole land-revenue of the province of Agra as given in his memoirs. At this period, we are told, that the usual capital was Tijára ; but Alwar was one of the chief fortified towns, and at that moment the seat of Government. Hassan Khán's son submitted and was pardoned with an assignment of land. Tijára was conferred upon one of the Turkish nobles and Alwar on another.

Having made these arrangements, Bábar advanced into Rajpután, lent upon striking a final blow at the Rána of Udaipur, the redoubted Sanka. But a very strong place barred the road ; Chandairi, which had fallen into Sanka's hands towards the end of the Lodi dynasty, and was now held for the Rána by one of his men named Medini Rao, with a garrison of over 4,000 Rajputs—"pagans," Bábar calls them ; with him the Hindus are always "pagans," the native Muslims "Afghans," and his own people "Turks." His own officers he designates by the Turkish title of "Beks," using the generic Persian title "Amir" for all officers, whether his own, belonging to the native Muslims, or Hindus. What he was himself it might be difficult to say. His secretary Shekh Zain calls him "the Khakán," an old Tartar title. His true position was something between that of dacoit, or leader of bandits, and that of Emperor of Hindustan, which he, *de facto*, may be said to have attained at the time of his death some three years later on.

He was now, in the latter part of the year 1527 A. D., approaching Chandairi, but the approach was through a difficult country. He had to cut down the woods and to make a road for his guns and wagons as he proceeded. It took him six weeks to reach Chandairi. He found it a place of some strength. The town was fortified, the walls running along the slope of a hill, on whose summit stood the fort or inner citadel.

The artillery of the assailants was placed on an opposite mound, upon ground prepared for the purpose. Scaling ladders and screens having been prepared, the place was summoned, but Medini Rao refused to surrender. In a week's time all was ready, when suddenly a letter arrived from the eastward, announcing that the Turkish army had been defeated, driven out of Lucknow, and forced to fall back upon Kanauj. Bábar seems to have kept the news to himself for the time, and pressed on the assault. By night time his men had stormed the town and driven the garrison into the citadel. Next morning, having examined the locality, he found that there was one comparatively easy access to the gate by a path or covered way, leading down to the water that ran at the foot of the hill. Here, therefore, he placed his body-guard and the centre of his line, and at once commenced a simultaneous attack on all sides, of which that by the covered way was to be the most serious. The Rajputs made a stout defence; but a Beg named Sháham Nur found a bastion of the citadel joining on to a part of the town wall, and by climbing this he effected an entry. The force of the garrison posted at the covered way was driven in, and other parts of the walls were scaled. Then followed the horrible heroism habitual to a conquered Hindu garrison of those days. The defenders having slain their own women and children, stripped themselves to the skin, and rushing out sword in hand, renewed the fight. But the sally was in vain; the steady valour of the disciplined Mughols (to give them their proper name) prevailed. The survivors of the garrison fell on one another in Medini's quarters; ere the day declined the whole place was in the conqueror's hands.

Raising his customary pyramid of heads Bábar proceeded to call a council of his Begs. Chandairi was made over to Ahmud Sháh, the son of the Afghan, from whom Sánka had taken it. News came that Sánka was dead, and Bábar thinking the Afgháns of the East his more pressing danger, resolved, with the acquiescence of his council, on marching against them before taking further measures against the Rajputs.

Chandairi had fallen on a Thursday on the Sunday following, the army was in motion. Crossing the Jumna at Kinar, just below the confluence of the Chambal, he sent on a party of light troops to procure intelligence, and marched the main army with all possible despatch towards Kanauj. When within a short distance of that place, he met his scouts who brought information that the enemy was posted on the left bank of the Ganges, just below Kanauj, prepared to contest the passage of the river.

Bábar adopted the measures of a good officer, laying hands on



all procurable boats he found himself in possession of a number sufficient to throw a sort of pontoon bridge over the stream. It was now about the end of winter, a period when the rives in Upper India, deriving their supplies from the Himalayan snow, are at their least width and volume; a circumstance which must have much facilitated Bábar's operations. Planting a breastwork up-stream which he filled with matchlockmen, and placing a heavy gun upon an island below, he protected his men while they were at work. In less than a fortnight the bridge was completed; and on the third day after (a Friday), the army effected the passage and established itself on the left bank, though resisted by the enemy. Bábar admits that, having obtained, this measure of success, he ought to have at once gone on; but he sacrificed his plans to a puerile crochet. For some unintelligible reason he resolved to fight on Sunday, thereby losing a day. The enemy profited by the delay to decamp, and Bábar had to be content with occupying Lucknow and the surrounding country.

From this expedition Bábar returned to Agra, whence he went on a visit to Gwalior. While there he received a messenger from the son of the late Rana Sánka, whose speedy submission showed the wisdom of the determination to deal vigorously with the Afgháns and the prestige that had been gained by the success of that campaign.

In the beginning of 1529 more bad news came from the eastward, and once more the indefatigable leader, riding in one day from Gwalior to Agra, put himself at the head of his army. It is to be noticed that the Pathán Chief, Sher Khán—soon to become so famous—had absconded from Bábar's Court, and about this time appeared in the ranks of the Native Muslim insurgents whom he was afterwards to lead to temporary triumph. For the time, however, the Mughol star continued to ascend; Bábar marched down the Duát, raised the siege of Chunár by the mere alarm of his approach, and reached Ghazipur by forced marches. Here he opened negotiations with the Musulmán King of Bengal, and on these failing, gave him a sound chastisement after a long engagement in which the Bengalis appear to have fought with their backs to a river, and supported by a fleet of boats. The story is confused and of no great importance, for Bengal was left unmolested.

Early in September 1529 Bábar returned to Agra, and his charming autobiography comes to an abrupt end. It may be that his health broke down, and that the rest, thus at last realised, left him without spirit to continue the work of writing. He was now truly Emperor, and of a vast though incoherent Empire, extending from Badakshán and Kunduz, beyond the Hindu Kuah range including all Afghanistan, the Punjab,

Hindustan, Rajpután and Bahát. On the 26th of December 1530 he died peacefully at Agra, in the fiftieth year of his age, having nominated as his successor his eldest son Humaiun, then in his twenty-second year: "Do not slay your brothers," he said at their last interview, "but watch them with care." He was buried in the beautiful garden on the left bank of the river, just above the city of Agra, known in modern times as "the Kám-bágh;" but his remains were in after years removed to Kabul, near which city his tomb is still to be seen. [For Burne's description of the tomb and its site, Erskine I, 517.]

Judged by his own record, Bábar was amiable, social, enduring of privation and labour, yet prone to pleasure; with small care for moral obligations, and but little taste for the civil duties of a ruler. No doubt has ever been thrown on the *Memoirs*—the *Wákiát*, or *Tuzak* of Bábar. Originally written in Chaghtai Turkish, they were translated into Persian by a member of the family in the reign of the author's grandson, the Emperor Akbar. They have been translated into French, in modern days, by M. Pauet de Courteille; an English translation of the Persian version has been made by the late Mr. W. Erskine, and copious extracts given in the fourth volume of *Dowson*. The book is one that can never fail to please; being no less than the "confessions" of a mediæval adventurer, who combined qualities not often found together, and whose speech is candid, while his observation is direct and genuine. Although professing Islam, Bábar is no bigot, and instead of "sending infidels to hell" is ready enough to negotiate with the *Rais* and *Kánas*, and to maintain them in dignity and usefulness. His opinion of the Hindus and their land was, however, decidedly and trenchantly unfavourable.

"Hindustan," says the conqueror, "is a country that has but little to recommend it. The inhabitants are not good looking, they have no idea of the pleasures of society; they have no genius or generalising talent, neither polish of manner, amiability or sympathetic feeling, neither ingenuity nor mechanical invention, nor knowledge or skill in architecture; they have no decent houses, good fruit, ice or cold water; their markets are ill-supplied; they have neither public baths nor colleges, neither candles nor candlesticks. If you want to read or write by night, you must have a filthy half-naked fellow standing over you all the time with a flaring torch."

This extract is not only interesting as a description—perhaps a little pessimistic,—of the state of Hindustan in Bábar's time, but as showing the comparatively high standard of his own notions of civilisation. In the copy of the Persian translation of the *Memoirs*, which belonged to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, there are about one hundred coloured drawings, which strongly



confirm this estimate. The portrait of the author and hero, in which the likeness is preserved throughout, is that of a thoughtful gentleman, with pale, oval face and small pointed black moustache, not unlike a Russian officer of Hussars of our own times.

The weaknesses of his administration have been pointed out by a very able contemporary. It has been mentioned that an Indian Muslim, named Sher Khán, had been at one time in the suite of Bábar, whom he left during the Chandairi campaign to take part in the rebellion of his countrymen in Bahár. He justified himself in these words:—"If work and fortune favour me I will drive the Mughols from India; for they are not our superiors in battle, or in single combat; but we Afghans have let the Empireship slip through our fingers by our own dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughols and observed their conduct, I have seen that they lack order and discipline. And their leaders from pride of birth and station neglect the superintendence of administration and leave affairs in the hands of officials in whom they blindly trust. These men act on corrupt motives in every case, whether it be a soldier's, a cultivator's, or a refractory zemindar's. From lust of gain they make no distinction between friend and foe."

The shrewd observer who made this diagnosis was now in something like the position occupied by Robert Bruce in Britain at the death of Edward Longshanks. The heir of Bábar was Humaiun, a Prince not destitute of chivalric qualities, but idle and dissipated, whose Bannockburn was awaiting him. For the first few years of his reign he conducted tedious and ultimately unsuccessful campaigns in Guzerát and Málwá, and in the intervals devoted attention to building a new fort in a part of Firoz Sháh's city near Delhi, to which he gave the name of Diorpam. Meanwhile the Afghans were fighting among themselves in Bahár and Bengal. In these quarters Sultan Mahmud, brother of the deceased Ibrahim Lodi, was still paramount; and being acknowledged by the majority of the Afghans as their ruler, was able to command for a time the allegiance of the Khán. With their united forces they occupied Jaunpur. This circumstance drew Humaiun into the field from which he was to retire after a struggle of three years, worsted and discomfited. It may, therefore, be taken as the occasion of saying a few words of the remarkable man to whom he was opposed, the fact in regard to whom having been recorded after his death, and the downfall of his short-lived dynasty may be regarded as free from exaggeration and oriental flattery.

Sher Sháh was originally named Farid: he was the grandson of an immigrant (of the Sur tribe) who came from the Afghán province of Roh—on the spurs of the Salaiman range—the

same from which the "Rohillas" afterwards got their name. The date of his birth is not to be found, but it must have taken place in the last ten or fifteen years of the fifteenth century. He was sent to Jaunpur for his education and gave proofs of early ability. While yet young he obtained charge of a district of Bahár. Here he displayed the originality of an earnest reformer, and laid the foundation of the system which was to become so great under Akbar. The union of humanity with energy is most exceptional in Asiatic statesmen, for their conduct is usually the result of impulse, and determined by the prevailing turn of individual character. All that Sher Khán (or Sháh) is known to have done shows reflection and principle. On taking charge of his first district he assembled the officials and the heads of the community. To the former he said that he had set his heart on the welfare of the tract, so that their own interests would be as much concerned in that object as his reputation could be. In the last resource success depended on the humble peasantry, who notoriously suffered from the corruption and oppression of those in authority. He had, therefore, determined on assessing the revenue on the measured area of the land, rewarding the collecting officials by a commission. The payment might be in cash or in kind, at the cultivator's pleasure. "I accordingly warn you," he said to the officials, "that if the people complain that you take more than what is so fixed, I shall myself take part in the audit, and shall debit the excess to you." Then, turning to the cultivating headmen, he added that the revenue would be collected with the utmost strictness; but so long as they paid a lenient assessment with punctuality they might always come to him with their complaints; he would allow none to oppress them.

Family troubles driving him from home, he went to Delhi and Agra in search of employment and patronage. Shortly before Bábar's conquest, he got an extended charge in Bahár, and it was about this time that he acquired the title of "Sher Khán." In the earlier part of Bábar's career, Sher Khán supported the Lodi cause in the eastern provinces; but in 1528 he joined the Mughol camp. As we have already seen he formed an unfavourable opinion of the character and habits of the adventurers. Perceiving his aspiring and energetic character, Bábar meditated his arrest; but the wary Afghan anticipated this, withdrawing from the camp during the Chandairi campaign. After various wars and intrigues he espoused the cause of Sultán Mahmud about the end of the year 1535, while Humaiun was engaged in Guzerát. Humaiun entertained thoughts of attacking him, but was glad to change his mind. Amusing the Emperor with insincere negotiations, the politic Afghán got possession of Chunár, and the Emperor turned



once more to his efforts in the West. Sher Khán, having leisure to work out his own plans, soon got rid of Sultán Mahmud who retired to Gaur in Bengal. Sher Khán persuaded the Mughol officers in Bahár of his loyalty, and for some time was left unmolested. At length (1537) Humaiun, having been entirely unsuccessful in Guzerát and Málwá, resolved to move down east and look into matters there for himself. Chunár, a strong place on the Ganges, resisting him, was taken on the 8th of January 1538. The circumstances of the siege are related with amusing detail by the equerry Janhar (V. Dowson, 138 ff.) The time occupied must have been considerable, for we are told that the General in command occupied himself for no less than six months in constructing a floating battery, so as to complete on the water-side the investment that had begun by land. The garrison ultimately capitulated and much to Humaiun's displeasure, were treated with severity; but the offending commander was shortly after poisoned by some of his own officers whom he had offended.

While the Mughol army was thus employed, an officer of Sher Khán's had taken Gaur the capital of Bengal. At the same time that Chief himself got possession of Rohtás in the hilly country of Bahár, and congratulated himself on having, in these two places, gained more than he had lost in Chunár. He then turned towards the pursuing Emperor, who was no match for him in age or experience, and whom he deluded by false shows of submission. Humaiun agreed to return to Agra, leaving Bahár and Bengal as tributary provinces in the hands of Sher Khán. But the Emperor was as quickly diverted from this purpose by the arguments of a fresh negotiator in the person of the Lodi Prince Mahmud, who shook his faith in Sher Khán, and persuaded him to march upon Bengal. Sher Khán was equal to the occasion, and was favoured by fortune, as is the way with the bold. Mahmud died at this juncture; the Emperor was caught in a trap between Patna and Monghyr, when he lost his baggage, carriage, tents, and all the men in charge, and was blockaded for a month; after which, although he occupied Gaur at last, it was a barren triumph, from which he only gained fresh trouble after wasting four months there in luxurious repose.

About the end of the year 1538, news reached Humaiun at Gaur that trouble had arisen at Agra which required his presence there. Meanwhile Sher Khán, having gained the unanimous confidence of the too-often divided Afghans, had collected a compact force with which he resolved to attack the unfortunate Mughol monarch. Once more terms were offered, this time by the Emperor; but Sher Khán after allowing the Imperialists to pass by him, resolved, by the



advice of a clerical counsellor on breaking the truce, and suddenly falling upon the Mughol camp at a place called Chaunsa, where the Karmnása falls into the Ganges, drove them off in the direction of Agra. The Emperor and his staff fled with such precipitation, that their families fell into the enemy's hands. The Empress and other ladies were treated with all courtesy, and the conqueror was proclaimed King by the title of "Sher Sháh Sultan-i-Adili"—("Just Lord.")

In April 1540, Humaiun, having patched up the revolt at Agra, returned to the eastward. The two armies met at Kanauij, on the opposite banks of the Ganges, very low at that season of the year. Then took place the last negotiation. Sher Sháh, as he was now called, sent a herald to the Emperor to propose, not peace but terms of combat. If his Majesty preferred he would cross first, and if not, he would await his Majesty's pleasure where he was. The Emperor replied scornfully, that if "Sher Khán" would but make room, he would cross and give him battle. The Afghan Chief had thus gained his end, that is, his enemy would do battle with a river behind. Retiring about five miles he, with every appearance of courtesy, permitted the Imperialists to pass the river. When the passage was complete he reconnoitred and entrenched his army on the enemy's front. But the Mughols were weakened by desertions, and disheartened: "let us go," they cried (according to the testimony of one who was with them), "and rest in our own homes."

Skirmishes took place day by day, till the heat grew to a dreadful height; and the Ganges, swollen by the melting of the snow, began to run with a full current behind the Mughols. It was just the middle of May, and the early rains set in with unusual violence, so as to flood their camp which lay on the river-meadows. On the morning of the 17th the Mughol army moved out, resolved to take higher ground, if they had to fight for it. In the matter of fighting the Afghans were ready to indulge them. Leaving their intrenchments they moved out in a long line, the Sháh himself leading the centre. On the Mughol centre rode the Emperor, but he was ill supported. Twenty-seven chiefs entitled to *Tughhs* (yak, or horse tail standards), who led the left of the Imperial line, concealed those insignia from fear of attracting the enemy. "From this," says Haidar Mirza who had a command among them, "conduct of the officers may be formed some notion of the courage of the men." Sher Sháh's force was estimated by this observer at no more than 15,000 horse; while the Imperialists were 40,000 strong with abundant artillery. But each chief was surrounded by pampered pages



and light-armed followers, who were absurdly placed in the front ; these were at once routed, and in their route hampered the advance of the men-at-arms of their side. " Before the enemy had discharged an arrow, we were virtually defeated, not a man being wounded, either friend or foe, not a gun was fired." The steel-clad horsemen clattered into the mud, and plunged into the brimming stream ; and the only deaths that happened were, when they were drowned. Humaiun was led to the river by an unknown cavalier in black who seized the bridle-rein. Here he found an elephant on which he got across, being helped out on the other side by some bystanders. Hurrying to Agra he made but a short halt there ; his mind was disturbed ; he spoke of supernatural beings who had appeared on the Afghán side. Arrived at Lahore he met his brothers, but one of them, Kámram who had deserted before the battle of Kanauj, was determined to hold the Punjab and Kábul on his own account : and the alarm of pursuit becoming urgent, the luckless Humaiun was fain to depart hurriedly to Sind.

We need not follow his wanderings. For nearly fifteen years he disappears from the history of India ; and our only present concern with him is to enquire into the reasons of the revolution. The first and greatest is the character of his opponent. Sher Sháh was an extraordinary man, and to a genius, such as his, all things are possible. The ingrained faults of the Páthán character are perfidy and disunion ; but as he was never perfidious towards friends, he was able to win confidence, and out of confidence to build union. On the other hand, the Emperor was young ; he had characteristic weaknesses, and laboured under the heavy disadvantage of having been born in the purple. His followers, too, were fine gentlemen, above all work except fighting, till at last they were unequal even to that. And the kingdom of Kábul, whence he might have expected to draw reinforcements of hardier men, was in the hands of the unfaithful Kámram ; so he was overthrown and driven out. After a series of toilsome and perilous wanderings—which are narrated with pathetic simplicity by his constant attendant Janhar—he found an unquiet asylum with the Shia King of Persia by whom he was forced to embrace his heretical creed. Meanwhile his successful rival built up anew the throne of Hindustan, which he finally ascended at Delhi on the 25th of January 1542.

The whole of his brief administration—he must have been by this time a man of nearly sixty—was based on the principle of union. A devout Muslim, he never opposed his Hindu subjects. The disputes of his own people he suppressed with all the energy of his nature. He laboured day and night. For, he said, " it behoves the great to be always active."



In the first hour after sunrise Sher Sháh performed his devotions, and then turned to the business of the day, beginning with a parade, after which he conversed with his officers and men. He then went over his accounts, and gave audiences. After two and a half hours of such work came breakfast, in the society of pious and learned men ; then more business. After the noonday prayer, he took a little rest ; on rising he read a portion of Scripture, and then fell to work once more. He divided his territory into hundreds, in each of which were local officers whose place it was to mediate between the people and the officers of the crown. Not content with the administrative side of social reform, he went beyond most Muslim rulers and attempted a certain crude legislation. The nature of the attempts attributed to him shows that a critical moment was passing in mediæval India. His ordinances touched on almost all the primary parts of administration, and evince a real care for the people's welfare. Thus, if thefts or robberies could not be brought home to the actual offender, the heads of the commune in whose borders the offence occurred, were called on to satisfy the authorities that the criminals had not found harbour with them, and to trace them to another village. This may seem a rude method ; but it has been used in later times, and has worked well in similar circumstances. Still more was such responsibility enforced where the crime had been complicated with bloodshed. Protective methods were not neglected ; walled enclosures were provided along the roads for travellers to rest in at night with their property secure about them. If any such died upon their journey, the property they left was taken care of till the heirs could be found. Customs were only levied twice on merchandise, once on the frontier, once in the market ; bad economy, but preferable to the usual practise of taking toll at every possible opportunity. All these regulations were well calculated to protect a nascent system of inland traffic. Of the Sháh's system of land-revenue we have had a glimpse, and need only add that he continued *qualis ab incepto*, the intelligent protector of the humble peasant on whom, as he said, the prosperity of an agricultural realm must ultimately depend. One great source of discontent and unthrift among eastern cultivators is due to the exactions of officials on tour, and of marching troops. To reduce this evil to a minimum the Sháh, on his progress, inspected the wayside crops, and placed mounted guards over them. When fields were wantonly injured, he had been seen by eye-witnesses to take vengeance with his own hand ; the owners were immediately compensated. These things seem to show that the usual population was still sparse, and the tillage dependent on a scanty supply of labour, necessitating care for the comfort, and contentment of the peasantry.



Even in marching through an enemy's country, the people were not to be molested, "for," said the Sháh, "if we drive them away our conquests will be of little profit."

All this has an importance extending beyond the immediate time. After the Mughol restoration, Sher Sháh's officials passed into Akbar's service; the faults imputed by the Sháh to what he called "Mughol" administration—but which are common to all Turks—were prevented; and this far-sighted man even after his death and the subversion of his dynasty, remained the originator of all that was done by mediæval Indian rulers for the good of the people.

Especially did the Sháh watch and control his subordinates. Officials from his Court were strictly associated with local officers, and were compelled to pay for their own articles of consumption at full prices in open market. No officials were allowed to remain in the same place more than two years.

And so, for this brief space, "the land," as the Sháh himself boasted, "had peace from the borders of Oude to the Sutlej river." A royal highway ran from one point to the other, crossed by one from Agra to Burhanpur on the limits of the Deccan; and daily posts carried letters from one end of each to the other. A third road ran from Agra across Rajputan, and a fourth connected the cities of Multan and Lahore. Lastly, the Sháh made a point of completing the new fort of Humaiun at Delhi, where he built a mosque, that is still standing, the pride of the later Pathán school of architecture.

On the 22nd of May 1545, this marvellous man met the "petty fortress and the dubious hand" from which no hero can count on safety. He was besieging Kálinjar when he was struck by the splinter of a tumbril near which he was standing, when it was exploded by a shot from the ramparts. Taken into his tent he lay for two days, conscious and thinking of his duty to the last. On being remonstrated with for giving way to low spirits, he said he had three or four regrets. He was sorry that he had not moved the tribesmen from the hills of Roh (mentioned above as the cradle of his family) to be a military colony in the Eastern Punjab and watch the attempts of the Mughols from the direction of Kábul; next, he ought to have destroyed Lahore which was sure to be the base of the next invasion; thirdly, he meant to have provided facilities for Indian believers making the pilgrimage to Mecca; lastly, he should have built on the field of Panipat a monument in honour of Sultan Ibrahim, and another to the Mughol lords who had perished in the wars.

Sher Sháh's second son succeeded him by the title of Islám Sháh, and reigned nine years. He was an able but arbitrary and cruel ruler, under whom the old contentiousness of the Patháns, or Indian Afghans, revived; so that

the whole period was consumed in fruitless intrigues and fights, and in the constant depression of the nobility, without corresponding advantage to the people. Islam Sháh, Sur, died in November 1554. His son was murdered by the brother of the deceased ruler's wife, the boy's maternal uncle; fresh broils and rebellions followed. To such a pitch of imbecility had the Pathán aristocracy fallen, that the chief command of the army fell into the hands of a Hindu chandler named Hemur.

In the meanwhile Humaiun had become the father of a son, and had obtained the mastery of his refractory brothers. Kám-rán, the most hostile, was taken and, after some hesitation, deprived of his eyesight, that precaution which, in this and other reigning oriental families, was held to incapacitate for the throne. Humaiun descended from Kábul in 1555 and took possession of Lahore. He then justified the prevision of Sher Sháh by making that city his base, from which he sent forward a force towards the banks of the Sutlej. Early in the year this force was met by the Pathán forces near Ambála, and at once advanced to the encounter. The Pathán leaders were in the very crisis of a quarrel, and failed to co-operate. Still the force that remained available was considerable. The first battle took place at Machiwára on the banks of the Sutlej, where the Mughol advance was led by Bairám Khán, a Persian Turk, who had been captured and released by Sher Sháh in the sequel of the Kanauj campaign, and who had joined Humaiun during his wanderings. Crossing the river without being molested (or even perceived) by the negligent foe, Bairám caught them in a village which was set on fire during the action. All the early part of the night Bairám plied them with arrows and fire-arms, galled by which, and by the conflagration, they retreated, leaving the Mughols in possession of the country on both banks of the Sutlej down to Haryana, and leaving Delhi itself exposed. A second battle followed, in which the youthful Akbar took part, and was rewarded by his father.

The Sur family had now but one stay left, the Hindu above mentioned, who was at this time engaged in a campaign to the eastward. But enough had been done for the present, and the long-enduring Emperor contented himself with proceeding to Delhi. He made his entry on the 23rd of July, and at once began enjoying a brief repose soon to become—had he but known it—sound and long enough.

Our last glimpse of Humaiun is in peaceful worship. Within sight of the mosque of Sher Sháh, in the Dinpana, is an octagon building three storeys high, whose walls still show traces of painting, and which is traditionally known as "The Library



of Humaiun." Here, as the clear winter evening was gathering, the restored monarch was seated on the topmost terrace when he heard the Azán, or call to prayer from the neighbouring mosque. Rising suddenly to turn towards the western sky, he slipped in leaning his staff upon the polished floor. He fell upon the stair-head and was precipitated down the first flight of steps. The external hurt received must have been slight, for he walked home. This accident has been differently related. The account in the text is taken from the best authority and verified by personal observation on the spot.

The Emperor had been injured inwardly, and died after a few days' illness, on the 26th of January 1556, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His character was thus described by a friend and kinsman:—

"I have seen few possessed of so much natural talent and goodness ; but, having dissolute and sensual servants, and associates of mean and profligate character, he contracted bad habits,—such as the excessive use of opium—and the work that devolved on him as a Prince he left entirely to them."

It must be added that his troubles, however attributable to faults of character, were borne with a bright and elastic mind, until the aid of able companions enabled him to bring them to an end.

How the Chaghtai conquest was completed and a period of peace and prosperity given to Hindustan of which Sher Sháh's brief reign had been the harbinger and dawn, that is a tale as wondrous as it is cheering to those who love human nature ; but it belongs to a fresh period and demands a fresh chapter.

H. G. KEENE.

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ART. IX.—THE OPIUM QUESTION, OR "IS INDIA  
TO BE SACRIFICED TO CHINA?"

- I.—*All about Opium.* Sultzberger, 1884. 110 Cannon Street, E. C.  
II.—*Truth about Opium.* Brereton. Allan & Co.  
III.—*Truth about Opium-smoking.* Bromhall. Hoddes & Stoughton.  
IV.—*Friend of China.* Dyer Brothers, Paternoster Row.  
V.—*Christlieb: Indo-British Opium and its Effects.* Nisbet, Berner Street.  
VI.—*Vindication of England's Policy.* Haines, 1884. Allan & Co.  
VII.—*China Yellow Book Opium.* II. Special Series No. 4. Shanghai, 1881.  
VIII.—*England, China and Opium.* Fry. 1873. Bumpus Holborn.  
IX.—*Opium Question Solved.* Arnold. Partridge & Co., 1882, Paternoster Row.  
X.—*Opium Question.* Moule. Seeley, Fleet Street, 1877.

IN the midst of loud declamation and plenteous abuse, the Anti-Opium agitators neglect to grapple in a practical manner with the subject, or suggest any feasible remedy for the alleged evil. It is natural that this should be so, for, not understanding the formidable complications of the disease, how can they prescribe for the patient?

Not one word of ill-feeling shall pass from my pen: the problem is too solemn. If the agitators urge, that China is not to be sacrificed to the financial wants of India, the whole body of Anglo-Indians rise, as one man, to maintain that India shall not be sacrificed to the moral weakness of China. England has no direct interest in the matter: every rupee of the vast sums spent in the culture of the poppy, the manufacture of the drug, and its export by sea to China, is supplied by natives of India, or Anglo-Indians transacting business in India.

Let us clear away sundry topics which only cloud the discussion, and divert the mind from the real issue, which is—What shall be done in 1885?



I. The war of 1841-42 may, or may not, have been connected with opium in its origin (which is doubtful), or have been wicked (which is also doubtful); but whatever it was, it is an accomplished fact and a matter of history.

II. The war of 1857 arose entirely from the capture of a small vessel, and had nothing to do with opium. Be it recollected that Parliament was dissolved, and the matter was laid before the country, and the war was the direct result of the votes of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland. The people had the matter before them, and decided upon it. India was not consulted.

III. Peace was made, and certain ports were thrown open to all merchandize, opium not being mentioned. Beyond those Treaty-ports China is absolutely master of the situation, and nothing can pass out of those ports without paying an arbitrary excise duty, which can at discretion be made prohibitory. I have ascertained this fact from the most competent authorities, and, if there were any Treaty compelling China to admit opium beyond the Treaty-ports, I should join in the petition to have that treaty repealed. It is very true that if the Chinese were to forbid the passage of opium out of the Treaty-ports, smuggling would be resorted to along two thousand miles of coast by men of every nationality; but England, if it attempted to exclude French brandy, would run the same risk, and the Navy of the United States was not able to exclude the blockade runners during the cotton famine.

IV. The injurious effects of over indulgence in opium-smoking is admitted. But every nation has its prevailing vice, which must be attacked by moral arguments, not by the Arm of the Flesh. The Bishop of Peterborough rightly said that it would be better for men to be drunkards than slaves. The people of England extract twenty-eight millions annually from the intemperate habits of the English nation. There are worse things in China, a far greater moral contamination than opium-smoking. Why do the citizens of the United States, who admit all nationalities to their territory, exclude the Chinese? Because they bring with them a contamination which decent words cannot express.

V. If the habit of opium-smoking is so destructive of body and mind as the agitators say, it would tell upon the population. China, on the other hand, is like a full bowl, overflowing into every land—Australia, New Zealand, the Indian Archipelago, South Africa, and America. Other vices bring with them sterility, poverty, and national weakness. China is a power of unwieldy but gigantic strength: it has recovered all its lost ground on its North-East frontier, holds its own against Russia, and is holding its own against France, and



there are no signs of a decay in its arts, manufactures, or national power.

VI. If unhappy Ireland had a culture, a manufacture, and an article of export, which enabled the tenant to live in comfort, the landlord to receive his rent without fail, the State to levy an excise of eight millions on the export; if the population much larger than that of Ireland were indebted to this culture for social and undemoralized happiness and content, would the Parliament of Ireland consent to destroy this culture, and arrest this manufacture, because the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands or South America, were so uncontrolled in their appetites, and so abandoned in their proclivities, as to destroy themselves with overlibations of whisky? Yet such is the state of many millions in British India, to whom the culture of the poppy is as the wand of Fortunatus. Landlord and tenant welcome the arrival of the Opium Factory Agent, who pays upwards of a million in advance without interest, under contract, for delivery of the poppy juice, thus protecting the cultivator from the exactions of the village banker, and enabling him to pay his rent to his landlord, and enabling the landlord to pay his land-tax to the State.

VII. If India were a constitutional colony (and one excellent result of this agitation will be, that constitutional powers will be conceded to it for self-protection from selfish Englishmen), would it be expected that the Colonial Parliament would throw to the winds a revenue of eight millions, because irresponsible men in England take up one side of a question, and, forgetting the drunkenness of England, and the frightful injuries inflicted upon Africa by the English commerce in arms and liquors, sympathise with the debased Chinese opium-smoker, and its debased and mercenary rulers, who fill their despatches with moral saws and tolerate ineffable abominations?

VIII. "Begin at home" is a maxim which applies both to the English agitator and the Chinese Government. China will soon become, if it is not already, the largest opium producer in the world, and some even think that ere long it will export opium. Of one fact, however, there can be no doubt, that travellers in remote regions find the poppy cultivation and the opium pipe among tribes never visited by European, or accessible to the Indian drug. It is not clear that opium-smoking ever has prevailed outside China: in India it is totally unknown.

IX. With our streets at home inundated with intoxicating liquors, with our manufacturers sending out annually arms, ammunition, and rum to every part of unhappy Africa, so as to enable the aborigines who have survived down to the nineteenth century, and have outlived the foreign slave-trade, to destroy themselves by internecine war and drunkenness, of which they were ignorant before the arrival of the white man:



with human sacrifices and cannibalism still practised in marts to which our traders resort : with many forms of frightful cruelty and horrible crime rampant in countries to which we have access, are we to throw away the Empire of India in the vain and fanciful idea of keeping back a heathen Chinaman from his pipe, while we have failed to hold back a Christian Englishman from his pot ?

X. It is notorious that the surplus income of British India over the absolute necessities of the State are supplied by the wonderful and heaven-sent windfall of the opium revenue, and out of this surplus fund the Bishops with their Chaplains, and the grants-in-aid to the Missionary Societies for the Education Department have, for many years, been paid. If then this source of revenue be so tainted as the Anti-Opium agitators would have us believe : if it be an accursed thing, like the price of blood, the wage of the prostitute, the cost of a brother's soul, and the incense offered to Mammon, how is it that these holy men, these societies so outwardly blessed by the Almighty, can accept a part of the spoils and mingle it with the pure offerings of Missionary love and thanksgiving ? It is their duty before God and Men to reject the contamination. The Missionary Societies know very well from what source the surplus income of British India comes, and yet they do not hesitate to take their share.

XI. Amidst the agitators there are two camps—the platform orators, and the prudent Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, who must sometimes start at the utterances of the extreme members of his own party. We have heard the opium-trade likened to the slave-trade. What does this mean ? No doubt the slave-trade was a curse to the country which despatched the slaves, and a heavier curse to the country which received the slaves ; but the sympathy of the world was with the slave himself, a man of like passions to ourselves, and with an immortal soul. But the opium trade is one of the choicest and richest blessings to the country which exports it, blest at every stage of the transaction, and to every one concerned in it : to the country which receives it, it has neither brought depopulation, nor poverty, nor sterility. nor weakness, though to a large number (about two millions out of a population of four hundred millions,) of the debauched members of that nation it has supplied an opiate, more carefully prepared and of greater intrinsic excellence than the culture and manufacture of his own country can produce, or at least has as yet produced, for, in the ports of Mongolia the Chinese indigenous opium has driven out the Indian alien drug. We can scarcely suppose that any sympathy is felt with the fate of the opium ball : so the analogy with the slave trade falls to the ground.



XII. Then comes the question. The agitators sometimes urge that it is an Indian, sometimes an English question; but I never heard any one urge seriously that sevenpence in the pound should be added to the English Income-tax to make up for the loss of Revenue to British India, and that compensation should be given to the landlords and tenants and chiefs of Central India for the terrible loss caused to them by the abandonment of a profitable culture. Yet, if we have the strength of our convictions, we should rise to the dignity of paying the forfeit of our own misconduct. Sydney Smith gives an anecdote of the Bishops on one occasion feeding the starving populace with the dinners of the Deans and Canons, while they kept their own. When slavery was abolished, the twenty millions of compensation were paid by England and not by the West India Islands. An extremely moral sensitiveness should not be sordid, and attempt to make a scape-goat of a subject-empire to satisfy its own scruples, not shared by the people of India. A much larger sum (perhaps five-fold) than twenty millions would be required to supply the compensation to the agricultural and commercial interests wantonly injured by the Exeter Hall moralists. Nor would the Chinese be any the better for this Quixotic insanity.

XIII. Another line of argument brought forward in Exeter Hall is, that the suppression of the trade would cause India no loss at all. It is stated, with charming simplicity, that the area of culturable soil now occupied by the poppy would be at once transferred to cereals, which would be equally profitable and be a safeguard against famine. How little do such advocates know of the infinite trouble taken, during the last thirty years, to introduce into India other and more profitable products than cereals? How little does he reflect that a glut of cereals is the ruin of a country, unless the means of export are at a very high stage of development, which requires capital? Besides land under poppy culture pays its land-tax to the State, and rent to the landholder; and it will have to do the same if under garden-crops or sugar-cane: but over and above the land-revenue and rent, the opium pays an export duty of eight millions to the State, and who would dare place an export duty on any other crop? There would therefore be a dead loss to the State, but the landlord and tenant, in losing the poppy culture, would lose all their profit upon a profitable culture with a certain demand, and in the provinces under the Bengal monopoly, they would lose the opium advances, which fall annually in a shower of silver over the fortunate districts suitable for the cultivation of the poppy.

XIV. Herod and Pilate are reported to have become friends



on the occasion of the condemnation of an innocent prisoner. This reflection rises in the mind when we read of Cardinal Manning and the Earl of Shaftesbury joined in a strange alliance. In the Papal Bull of 1882, the British and Foreign Bible Society is described as the eldest daughter of Satan, and all Protestant Missionaries as propagators of lies, and yet the evidence which has convinced the Cardinal is supplied by these Missionaries. On the other hand, the Earl of Shaftesbury has over and over again denounced the Pope as the Father of Lies, and yet on the extremely complicated question of morality and politics, he appears on the platform, and exchanges compliments with the Cardinal. The astute Cardinal would keep the monopoly which the Anglo-Indians are longing to get rid of, until he can find an opportunity to cut the culture, manufacture, and trade down root and branch: he would in fact cut off the heads of the poppy, as Rome once did of the martyrs, and as she would do again if opportunity offered. Lord Shaftesbury, as a practical statesman, would get rid of the State monopoly as a glaring offence, and leave to time and public opinion to correct the greater evil, which is inextricably entwined with the great cardinal principles of liberty, freedom of culture, freedom of trade, and freedom of export. Still the independent observer cannot but look on the sudden alliance of the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Primate with the Cardinal in a matter, the whole gist of which is mixed up with the efforts of Protestant Missions, as inauspicious and suspicious. Over and over again it is asserted that the opium traffic is the chief obstacle of Protestant Missions, and the Missionaries' Societies take it up as such without going into the question. Such being the case, the Cardinal was a strange ally: "*Nontali auxilio.*" I remark that Herod and Pilate met also to attack the Surgeons on the platform of the Anti-Vivisection Society.

I would not willingly say an unkind word against any Missionary: I am a Member of the Committee of the Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society, and take an active interest in every attempt to evangelize India and China, assisting the work by addresses on platforms, by my writings, my subscriptions, and the devotion of the best part of my time to Committee work. Their motives are pure and above suspicion: their hostility to the opium-trade is inspired by respectable but mistaken feelings, roused by ignorance, or misconception of the real state of the case. The plummet line of their investigations does not reach the bottom. They do not appear to advantage in this controversy, as going out of their proper sphere, and displaying a narrow-mindedness, which is re- and markable. Some of them are indeed great men, of whom the would may be proud, but the majority are men of self-devotion



and probity, but moderate ability. Many of them who have rushed into this great controversy are not such as one would consult in the matter of the purchase of a horse, and still less rule an empire on their advice.

In their phraseology the great kingdoms of India and China, with their population of seven hundred millions, are often described as the kingdom of Satan: those of us who have lived a quarter of a century in the midst of the people of India, know how untrue that description is of them, and it may be assumed to be equally untrue of China. The kingdom of Satan, if it were localized, would probably be found in some European capital. They fix on some particular evil which strikes their eye, and attribute to that evil their want of success in their field, forgetting that in other fields, where their particular evil does not exist, there is not much greater progress. For instance, caste is denounced in India, opium in China, cannibalism and slavery in Africa, and polygamy and idolatry everywhere. As a rule, owing to the necessity of acquiring the vernacular language, the transfer of a Missionary from one field to another is not possible: so a Chinese Missionary lives and dies with the conviction, that, if he could get rid of his bugbear opium, his way would be clear. Nor are those, who chronicle the works of Missionaries in Europe, wiser, for we read in a pamphlet by Dr. Christlieb, that he would recommend the English Government at once to throw up and abandon the millions obtained for India from the export of opium, *and trust to God to supply the deficit*. I write with all reverence, that empires are not built up and maintained on such principles. It is a pulpit utterance, not the counsel of a ruler. The Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Madagascar cannot see the impropriety of their employing slave-labour in their families. One of the last speeches made by the late Sir Bartle Frere, in a Religious Society, was to implore that Society to discontinue this encouragement of slavery, and selling of slaves, but in vain, for he was met by a Canon of St. Paul's with quotations from St. Paul to Philemon. I mention this only to show the extreme narrowness of view entertained in Missions, both in what they denounce, and in what they allow, for no other Christian Mission in Asia, Africa, America, or Australasia tolerate the existence of such practices as are justified in Madagascar by Missionaries of the Church of England.

Nor do the Missionaries recollect the famous words of Prince Kung—"Take away from us your Missionaries and your opium." Sir Rutherford Alcock has publicly stated that the enmity felt by the Chinese to the importation of foreign opium sinks into nothing, and will not bear comparison with the hatred felt and openly expressed for



Missionaries of all denominations and their doctrines, and it has been a constant trouble to the Ministers of the French, English and American Governments. Only this very year (1884) I read that at Fuh Chou placards were stuck up against the Missionaries. I do not justify the Chinese rulers or people, but I state facts, and it is reasonable to believe, that, if China recovered its independence, it would sweep away all treaties, and get rid of both subjects of annoyance. The Missionaries have, in China and elsewhere, directly and indirectly, done infinite good, and it would be wiser and better if they would not meddle in politics, leaving to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar, and devoting themselves to the things of God. And I can truly say that throughout the length and breadth of India, with very rare exceptions, such has been the practice of Missionaries of every denomination. Unhappily in China the Missionaries have taken up political agitation, with very little advantage or success. Could these excellent men, whom I love even in their weaknesses, have a term of five years in Africa, how gladly, on their return to China, they would accept the Chinaman with his pipe, and try to win him by moral influences and the public press, could they be rid of the savage and the cannibal, the sorcerer and the executioner, whose presence weighs down the spirit of the Missionary on the Victoria Nyanza and the Niger?

The agitation has been re-echoed by a certain class in England. So long as the principle of repressing the use of intoxicating liquors and drugs is not adopted by the State for the people of England, it seems mere mockery and hypocrisy on the part of Englishmen to apply it arbitrarily to a nation not under their control. The Chinese, who are the consumers, and the Indian, who also is the producer, must laugh at the hypocrisy of a nation, of which drunkenness is the notorious blot, and urge it to begin its moral reform at home. In one of the reports of the Society I read that the Chinese Government desire to stop opium-smoking among their own soldiers, and they are quite right to do so; but it is shocking to think that for the first offence the punishment is slitting, or excision of the upper lip, and the second offence is visited with decapitation. In all our wars we have refused to accept as allies tribes who scalped their prisoners. The Anti-Opium Society does not hesitate to ally itself with the rulers of China, who openly avow such barbarous practices.

I was reading a short time ago the Report of the Anti-Vaccination Society, and but for the title, it might have been supposed to have been the Report of the Anti-Opium Society: there were the same speeches at public meetings, the same complacent self-assertion, a general abuse of all Governments,



who were fools, or knaves, or both, and a disposal of a most intricate and difficult question in an off-hand manner. The Reports of the Anti-Vivisection Society are moulded in the same mould. Many of the discussions have the character of a College Debating Society, for the Society is spoken of as "the English nation," and one individual, writing from Calcutta, vouches for the opinion of the Hindu people, some hundred and ten millions; another correspondent, who had never left Hong-Kong, undertakes to express the opinion of the Chinese people. About twelve men seem to do all the speaking, for their names appear at all the meetings, and the same arguments are used with variations of inaccuracy, reiteration of abuse, and strange inconsistency. Can a tree at the same time bring forth good and bad fruit? Can the long succession of Indian Viceroys and Governors, whose praise is in the lips of all parties, whose lives are sold by thousands of copies, all have been deceived, or were they purposely blind and base in this one particular? Most of the speakers on this subject are of third and fourth rate calibre, and some really good speakers when they handle the opium pipe, fall short of their usual excellence, as if out of their depth or uncertain of the drift of their policy: occasionally, really great men have stepped down into the arena. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone were at one on this issue: the former statesman remarked, in a somewhat bantering tone, that the deputation "raised a very large question when they asked them to interfere in any way to discourage the action of private enterprise in supplying a drug which the Chinese preferred to take. He could not hold out any hope that any legislation in that direction was probable. If he were to assign a time when such legislation might be undertaken, he should say it would be subsequent to the time when a Bill was passed preventing the sale of spirits in England." But Mr. Gladstone, in 1880, raised the question above its usual level, and touched a higher chord: he said—"Do not let it be supposed that I am treating this subject with indifference. The charge is that this subject has been approached from a very low level of morality (hear, hear). Let us see, then, whether we can escape from this low level of morality and resort to the high level of morality which is recommended. If we are told that we must abolish this traffic, then the charge has no meaning at all, unless we assume the obligation on the part of the people of England. Either we are to assume the obligation on the part of the people of England, or content ourselves at the present moment with giving a promise that something will be done in the future. It would be a very high level of morality indeed, in one point of view, if we were prepared on behalf of our constituents to put 3*d.* or 4*d.* on the income-tax and assume



"the payment of these seven millions. That would be taking our stand on a high level of morality. But that is no part of the debate. That is not proposed; therefore that is not the level of the morality. It must be some other level of morality, and let us see what it is."

And how injudicious, and impolitic, and indeed un-Christian has been the mode of agitation adopted. Hard words and gross insults have been heaped upon a body of men, who for a long series of years have watched over the interests of the great Indian people. No close Corporation, no City Guild, no Company of Merchants has been fattened by the opium export-duty. It is notorious that the Government of India is renewed every five years by both the great parties of the State, and a long line of illustrious statesmen have made India their study and delight. Some, like Lord Elgin, have brought Chinese experience to India, others, like Lord Napier of Magdala, have served in both countries. There has been a Government at home independent of the Government of India, and yet there has been an absolute uniformity of opinion on this great question, shared by every one of the servants of the Queen, who had studied the subject. Nor have the distinguished representatives of England in China arrived at a contrary opinion. I have myself taken the opportunity of personally consulting members of the China Diplomatic Body on their return to England, and I have received always the same reply. To shew the length to which this abuse has gone, I mention that in my presence a Member of Parliament, at a great public meeting, asserted that "a Sovereign was large enough to hide the name of God," as if any of the distinguished champions of the policy pursued by the Government of India for the last forty years, had the remotest pecuniary interest in the matter. They were not slave-holders fighting to retain their slaves, or monopolists struggling to retain their monopoly, or rack-renting landlords to maintain their right of eviction, but persons totally uninterested in the issue, but convinced that an attempt was being made to force a policy contrary to the rights and interests of the people of India.

Let us consider the matter from the Chinese side of the question. I am not careful to defend the use of the drug, or to assert that opium-smoking is innocuous. I lived a great many years among the Sikhs of the Panjab, who habitually took opium-pills, and a finer, manlier, more prolific race cannot be found. In "China Millions" I find at page 32, 1879, that opium was plentiful in Yunan, and yet the people had a well-to-do appearance and good houses, and yet the narcotic, home-grown, could be purchased for a trifle. Mr. Cooper remarks, that it would be death to a large portion of the



population suddenly to stop the supply, and that the Chinese Government, in wishing to stop the Indian opium, were acting, as they generally do, without any idea of the welfare of the people. I read in the "Friend of China," 1883, page 221, that the elders of a village begged that the cultivation of poppy might be stopped in their village, remarking that about one per cent. would smoke Indian opium, while twenty per cent. smoked home-grown opium. The greatest anti-opium agitator is obliged to admit that no reliance could be placed upon edicts from Peking, as they meant nothing, and were only bland expressions of Confucian morality. Moreover they are known to mean nothing, and subordinates in high office smoked opium, and collected excise on imported opium, took bribes to permit home-grown opium: attempts to stop cultivation, or destroy cultivation, notoriously failed. It transpires that the Chinese themselves, while their Rulers were denouncing the trade of the Europeans, were exporting opium from Yunan to Burma. There seems little doubt that the amount of home-grown opium far exceeded the imported opium, and the real objection of the Chinese Government was to the annual drain of silver from China, as the balance of trade was against them. It is notorious that the Chinese Government levy an excise upon home-grown opium exceeding one million, and levy a differential duty on land cultivated with the poppy.

But of all things the idea is to be deprecated of making China a *corpus vile* upon which benevolent enthusiasts desire to inaugurate a policy, which they are totally unable to enforce at home. One authority reports that opium-smoking is a pleasure, which it is quite possible to enjoy in moderation, and take in the same way as the Scotchman takes his whisky; and a Chinaman stupefied by opium is a much less terrible person than a Scotchman excited by whisky. Setting aside, however, such considerations, there is no doubt that the violent extirpation of opium-smoking in China is as impossible as that of gin-drinking in England. When men are persuaded that the practice is undesirable, the fashion will die out, but attempts to compel them before they are so convinced, can only lead to aggravation of the ills complained of. Why should an enlightened Government, such as the English, recommend the tottering dynasty of the Chinese Empire to interfere with the private habits of the people? This would be dangerous even in England, where the people are educated and enlightened. We should never attempt such a crusade in India. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his late work "Man *versus* the State," shows that we are advancing too far in that direction in England, and over-governing, and therefore mis-governing. The Sikh Government, which preceded us in



the Panjab, forbade the use of tobacco, or the slaughter of kine, but as a compensation tolerated the burning of widows, the killing of female infants, and the burying alive of lepers. Mahometan rulers forbid liquor shops, and the cutting of the throats of animals, while they tolerate polygamy, and punish an abandonment of the Mahometan religion by death. In the Papal States change of religion, and matrimony to a large proportion of the people were forbidden, but there was no objection to liquor-shops. Leave the people in their pleasures and their habits alone, so long as they refrain from breaches of the peace, and appropriation of the property of others. Leave it to moral pressure, and education, and general advancement, to control, diminish, and eventually eradicate the particular moral weaknesses from which no one nation is free, though they differ in character and degree. It is very easy to make a treaty forbidding the importation of opium into Japan, because the people are not addicted to the drug. It is still easier for the Government of the United States to make a treaty forbidding the export of opium from North America, considering that no opium is grown in the length and breadth of the United States: whether American citizens abstain from the trade in the Chinese seas remains to be seen. So random are the assertions, that it is a relief to find that no one has yet charged the Indian Government with introducing the cultivation of the poppy into Western China, *vid* Tibet and Burma, from pure motives of mischief, to complete the proofs that that Government consisted of men who were both knaves and fools. The import of opium from Persia has nearly ceased. Borneo opium up to this time is only a possibility. On the Zambesi, in East Africa, the Portuguese have commenced the cultivation, and send the opium to India. One of the chief resources of the Dutch Government in the Indian Archipelago is opium: it is sold to the Chinese, and forms one-tenth of the revenue of the colony.

It must be recollected that the Chinese Empire is overflowing like a full bowl, and sending colonists literally all over the world, and they take their pipe with them, and it is asserted, that they recommend with success the custom to the inhabitants of the country where they settle. This fact does not bear on the subject of importation of Indian opium into China, and is only mentioned by the Anti-Opium Society by way of aggravation. There are, however, colonies of Chinese in Singapur, the Malay States, the Islands of Sumatra and Java, the French Settlements of Saigon, and the Kingdom of Siam, as well as in Peru and California. They all smoke opium, and are beyond the influence of the Chinese Government, but they intercept a portion of

the Indian opium shipped for the China seas. The Chinese at Singapur are robust, hearty and energetic beyond other Eastern races, and yet beyond doubt they are all smokers. Is it expected that in Australia, Hong-Kong and Singapur, English Colonies, the crime of smoking opium is to be punished in the Courts of Law? It is whispered that the practice has commenced in London.\*

There is little doubt that the Chinese Government is false throughout. In spite of the high moral seasoning which distinguishes their arguments, the real taste of their *flesh* is sometimes discovered. The Grand Secretary argued to Sir T. Wade, that the fair thing would be for the Indian Government to divide the enormous profits on the export of opium with China, share and share alike. He declined to give up his revenue on home-grown opium. In fact, he showed himself to be a ruler of men, and not a member of an irresponsible voluntary association. The Mandarins and the Governors of Provinces smoke themselves, and make a profit upon the drug. The real solution of the difficulty will be to deal with home-raised and foreign opium upon an equitable adjustment of excise and customs.

Let us consider the matter from the Indian point of view. I took the opportunity of stating, at a meeting of a great Missionary Society, that the Government of India had nailed its flag to the mast, and that I rejoiced that it had done so. The Viceroy in Council has recorded his opinion that the loss of the opium export duty would cause insolvency: they state this in language not capable of misapprehension: other sources of revenue are not available, and reduction of expenditure is impossible. The abolition of the export duty would confer a very doubtful benefit on the Chinese, who would be supplied with the drug from other quarters, but it would do incalculable harm to the millions of India. Perhaps this is overstated, as empires and nations have survived heavier losses. Personally I am sorry that an attempt was made to increase the cultivation in the North-West Provinces, but it proved to be an utter failure. The cultivators stated that they had been badly used in old days, that they did not now understand the cultivation, and had other crops which paid as well, and they wanted no change. The improvement of communication enabled more bulky produce, such as sugar-cane and potatoes, to be carried to distant markets, and the poppy is driven to inferior lands. It is satisfactory to know that the area of 500,000 acres, now occupied by the poppy, will not be enlarged.

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\* Opium-smoking has much more than "commenced" in London. For the last twenty-five years there have been opium dens in the East End of London. EDITOR,—C. R.



It appears that not more than only £200,000 is realised from opium sold in India at the different Collectorates. India abounds in stimulants and narcotics, and opium is only one of many. The Arian nations seem to prefer to swallow the drug, the Non-Arian to smoke it, while the Turk is said to chew it. I have often as Collector superintended the sale of the opium to the local retailers : if a prisoner was found to be addicted to opium, he had to be supplied with daily decreasing doses, so as to wean him of the habit without endangering his life : only once I came upon two men from the Himalayas (whence also much opium is imported into India) who were hopelessly addicted to the practice, and were miserable objects. In the early days of our rule in the Panjab, where the cultivation has never been restricted, post, or concoctions of opium, was sold openly in shops licensed for the purpose. The Anti-Opium Society will scarcely find proofs, that with such vast stores of opium available in British India, we have attempted to raise revenue by encouraging our subjects to indulge vicious habits. We have raised the largest possible revenue out of the sale of the smallest possible supply.

There is not the least probability of the present policy being abandoned or modified, but it is as well to consider what is possible or the contrary. We might abandon the export duty, and set the Indian opium as free as indigo and grains. The consequences would be an enormous increase of the exported article, an excessive fall of the price of the drug in China, and such a defalcation in our revenue, as would cause insolvency for the time at least. If an attempt were made to impose other taxes, we may imagine the indignation of the people of India : the mass of the population is very poor : the salt tax ought to be reduced : to impose further burdens merely to gratify a moral whim would be a cruel injustice, and arouse a keen sense of wrong wilfully and widely inflicted.

We might abolish the monopoly, and disconnect the State with the manufacture and sale of the drug. To some tender and uninstructed consciences this monopoly aggravates the evil, and, as a rule, all monopolies are wrong ; but if the State withdrew, its place would at once be occupied by a gigantic Company, and very serious considerations would arise. So inexplicable are the reasons which guide good men in their actions, that it is possible, that some of the loudest denouncers of the National Sin,—as the opium trade is called,—might be found among the shareholders of this new Company. On the death of an advanced total abstainer a few years ago, he was found to have shares in a hotel, which held a liquor license, and his family could not see the inconsistency. But the abolition of the monopoly cannot be looked upon only from

the financial point of view, but as a measure affecting the well-being of the people of Bengal. A great Company, seeking only a good dividend, would flood the country with opium, with great injury to the people, and loss to the revenue of the State. It is true that no monopoly exists in the West of India, whence nearly half the export duty is collected, but the poppy cultivation is entirely within the territory of Native States, whose system differs entirely from our own. It is obvious that a State monopoly is the severest of all fiscal restraints, and those who really desire the export to be reduced, should not seek to destroy the monopoly, however scandalized they may be by its existence.

We might forbid the export, in the same way as the Government of Italy forbids the export of works of arts, but it would be very difficult to prevent smuggling with so large a seaboard. The people of India would resent the, to them, unintelligible policy of interference with a profitable trade, contrary to all the well-established principles of political economy. The cost of the preventive force would be very heavy, and the interference with other trades very annoying. In fact, such a measure scarcely comes within practical politics, but we should have the Native Chiefs of Central India to deal with : they derive a large revenue from the drug : the prohibition of export would entirely destroy this, and they would demand compensation, and so would the Landholders of Bengal. Who would satisfy these lawful demands arising from inconsiderate legislation ?

That we should prohibit the culture of the poppy within British India is a thing that is not possible. It would be a law unworthy of an enlightened Government, and would be incapable of execution. It is true that we can restrict the culture to certain regions which are most suitable to the crop. I have had considerable experience in the North of India from the river Karamnasa to the Indus, and consider it impossible to forbid absolutely any culture, and I cannot imagine that it would be feasible in Bengal. If the culture were prohibited in British India, and allowed to continue in the Native States, the production there would be stimulated : the attempt to prohibit the culture in the Native States would either be illusory, or, if enforced, lead to very serious consequences, and peril to the very existence of our Empire in India.

And at the same time that India was thus exposing herself to perils, and expenditure in the maintenance of repressive establishments in a fight against nature, equity, and common sense, the Chinaman would be smoking his pipe with opium supplied by his own country, or other opium-growing countries,—not such good opium perhaps, but much cheaper, and in much larger quantities ; and it is not obvious that if the Anti-Opium



Association has any definite ideas of its objects, it will have gained anything, for all the sad pictures of the debased and ruined Chinaman would be as true, or as deficient in truth as ever, and the Missionary would be met with the same harrowing scenes, and would realise that it is not that which goeth into a man defileth a man, but his own fallen and corrupt nature.

We must recollect that there is now a respectable Free Press in every part of India and in every language, and the Press would have a word to say on such an insane policy. I do not think that the Government of India would entertain it for a moment, but I wish the Anti-Opium Society to understand the ultimate consequences to which their ideas would lead.

I intimated this summer to a friend, who like myself is a Member of a Committee of a Missionary Society, that I intended to write a paper defending the Indian policy in this matter. His remark was that I should be soundly abused for so doing. Sir Rutherford Alcock felt himself compelled to stand forward and enlighten the public mind, and mercenary motives were at once attributed to him in connection with the new Borneo Company. It is the old story. When a man has a bad case in a court of law, his only resource is to abuse the attorney of the opposite party. I admit that those who oppose the Indian policy, are actuated by the highest and purest motives: having myself no interests whatever except the promotion of Missionary enterprise, I claim the same admission in my own favour, nor do I rush into the controversy hurriedly, as I have had it under consideration for more than five years, waiting for some further *denouement* of the Chefú Convention, which appears to have disappeared. Let it be clearly understood that under no circumstances would the Government of India admit into its treasury income, of which the sources are tainted, such as the produce of lotteries, a tax on Hindu pilgrimages, offerings to idol-temples, the price of slaves, the earnings of slave-labour, the profits of immoral establishments, whether gambling, as at Monaco, or brothels, as in some European States, any more than it would accept the hire of the assassin, or the *premium pudoris* of the unfortunate classes who infest the great cities. The line of demarcation of lawful, and unlawful, income is quite clear. The kindly fruits of the earth, blessed by the hand of the Creator, are intended to be gathered. In the case of the poppy they are thrice blessed, supplying comfort to the cultivator, rent to the land-owner, land-revenue to the State, and over and above, a magnificent export-duty. Neither in morals, nor by the law of nations, can a legitimate commerce be impugned. If fanciful and romantic objections were admitted, the Quakers would object to villainous saltpetre, as being the component of gun-

powder. The total abstainer would object to hemp, sugar and rice, whence intoxicating liquor is distilled. It is mere hypocrisy in a nation, which exports rum, gin, and gunpowder in such enormous quantities from English ports to Africa, and which, among many noble qualities, is noted for the drunkenness of its people, to feel such a tenderness for the besotted Chinese. It would be much easier for those, who think with me, to sail with the wind, and throw overboard the interests of the people of India. Be it noted that Sir Wilfred Lawson is the only consistent antagonist, for he would go to the root of the matter, and place opium and alcohol in the same category, adding a plea for mercy in favour of opium, as the opium-smoker is not a wife beater, a ruthless murderer, a breaker of the peace, and a public nuisance.

It may be distinctly asserted that the opium trade is not based upon force: the Chinese are quite strong enough to exclude it if they chose, and their being ready to resist the French, on a much less important grievance, proves that they could do so, and they know, as every one knows, that England would never attempt to force the drug into China by war. But when "force" is so vigorously denounced, have the leaders of the movement reflected upon the meaning of the term which they so often use? By force of character and of arms, England has raised herself to her present lofty position: by force she vanquished the Spaniards, the French, and the Russians, subdued vast kingdoms in Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, and brought under subjection a large portion of the world. Our Indian Empire is based upon force: our prestige throughout the world is based on our potential, or stored force. I have been pelted by little boys in the towns of Turkey, and have walked alone at my ease, and respected, in the great cities of India: this was owing to the force stored up in our cantonments. It was not the outcome of treaties, but of conquest.

Some years ago I described to Guiseppe Garibaldi, the Italian Liberator, our system in India: he remarked that we were no better than the Austrians after all; and this has often led me to reflect upon our inconsistent position, for in Europe we are the champions of every State which seeks for political liberty, and in Asia we are ourselves despots. The only reply is that we are *there*, and it is not practical to leave India, but, while we are there, we are bound to stand up for the people of India, and be their champion against the Manchester manufacturers; against the sentimental philanthropist; against our own countrymen, who came to fill their pockets, and go home again: we are bound to protect the Indian in the enjoyment of his laws, customs, lands, and civil rights: if we cannot give him political liberty, he shall have every thing



short of it : if he cannot have a Constitution like the colonies of Great Britain, he has a strong phalanx of men who have known India from their youth, and loved the people, and are ready to resist any attempt to oppress them, deprive them of equality in the courts of law, or of free trade, and free commerce. If the Chinese do not like the products of India, they can let them alone. The Indian ports are open to every possible product of Chinese industry. If the Chinese prefer their home-grown opium, be it so, and India will seek other markets, and develop other industries ; but it will do so by its own spontaneous action, and not under the threats of benevolent enthusiasts in a distant country.

However dark the colours may be with which the opium trade is painted, it is there, and if the Government of India abolished its monopoly, and remitted the export-duty, and set the cultivation of the poppy free, the trade would not be diminished. It is said of King Henry V, that he intended, if he had conquered France, to destroy all the vines with a view of arresting drunkenness. The late Maharaja of Pateala allowed no distilleries and dancing girls within his territory ; but the extent of his administrative capacity may be measured by the fact, that I tried in vain, in a personal interview, to persuade him to allow me to open a post-office in his dominions. It is, however, beyond the power of Viceroys, or Parliaments, or even Philanthropic Associations, to fight against Nature, and exclude from culture and commerce one of the richest gifts of the earth. By restricting the culture to certain tracts (of which the soil is most suitable to cultivation), we can create a monopoly, and forbid the culture beyond certain limits ; but as to forbidding it altogether in the central poppy region in our own territory, it is impossible, and, if it were possible, it would be a difficult and costly operation to war against Nature and freedom of culture under the influence of a mere fancy. Still less feasible would any attempt be to arrest the culture in the territory of the independent Chiefs of Central India. It is possible that if prices fell, the culture would be given up in outlying districts, and other staples would prove more profitable ; but this matter would be settled by the cultivator himself, and not by the State.

The people of China will soon have unlimited supplies of home-grown opium. The action of the Anti-Opium Society has helped to open the eyes of the Chinese authorities to the policy of this counter action, which will arrest the export of silver, and still supply the much coveted drug. India will suffer for the time, but it is not clear what the morals of the Chinese will gain. The Chinese Government now thoroughly understand that no force will be used to introduce the Indian



drug, and they are anxious to share the vast revenue raised by an excise. If a few millions make use of the Indian imported opium, which does not penetrate far into the country, scores of millions will learn to smoke the home-grown opium manufactured in their midst. When the Indian export trade has, under the inexorable laws of Supply and Demand, shrunk into nothing, it is not obvious whether the Anti-Opium Society will congratulate themselves upon the extinctions of the so-called National Sin, or feel like engineers "hoist with their own petard," when they contemplate the enormous increase of opium-smokers in China.

In the meantime the march of events seems likely to extinguish the opium trade, and the Anti-Opium Society in one common ruin. I quote the last accounts :—

"There cannot be any doubt but that the foreign drug will be driven, slowly perhaps, but steadily, by native competition, from the China market. The records of the foreign Customs, and the Consular service, the testimony of travellers and missionaries, supply evidence on this point which cannot be doubted. The three northern ports, in one year, show a loss amounting to 27 per cent. of their total imports. The native drug has so much improved, that it is there driving the foreign article from the market, even though the foreign prices had been reduced from 9 to 24 per cent, from those of the previous year. Ssuchuan opium is fast supplanting the foreign on the Yangtze, the distribution being largely carried on through boatmen and foot travellers, who tell no tales. In Formosa and South China generally, though the decline of the opium imported through the Customs is marked, the consumption is said not to be largely on the decrease—owing presumably to contraband supplies—nor does the native article as yet interfere largely with the foreign drug. The reason for this is simple. The opium of Yunnan and Ssuchuan cannot yet compete with the Indian opium, adulterated, as sold at the ports of Formosa, Amoy, Swatow, Pakhoi or Hoihow, where it is delivered, principally by means of junks from Singapore and Hong-Kong, mainly, of course, the latter place. It resolves itself into a simple question of cost of carriage.

"Among the reasons assigned for this decrease are the action of the authorities towards discouraging the practice, and the depressed condition of trade. The latter is undoubtedly a factor in the case, but I have no faith in the former. That the authorities are taking any serious steps towards the suppression of the drug is not to be credited, least of all by any one who has travelled in Interior China. Like the Abbé Huc, from personal experience gained in Chinese travel, I can say :— '*Pendant notre long voyage en Chine, nous n'avons pas rencontré un seul tribunal où on ne fumât l'opium ouvertement et impunément.*' It is found, in the opium provinces, growing under the walls of nearly every *yamên*, or courthouse. All travellers are agreed in this, that Yunnan and Ssuchuan opium is rapidly increasing in quantity and improving in quality. It is fast forcing its way to the seaboard ; being already brought there and shipped along the coast, although as yet in small quantities. The poppy is spreading over other provinces, and as the value of the crop is double that of wheat, it is fast replacing that dry-weather crop. The use of the Indian drug, since the improvement of the native article, is becoming, slowly but surely, a luxury only for the more affluent trader or official. Perfected still more, fashion will give its *imprimatur* to the native article, and then the foreign drug will be doomed."



The owner of a mine finds that the ore is exhausted, and he has nothing to blame himself for: he has done his work scientifically, but the gift of Nature is exhausted. So will it be with British India. It made good use of the advantages which fertility of soil, industry, and commerce supplied, and when one of them fail, there is nothing for it but to let the export-duty die out, and strive to face the financial difficulty. This is something very different from abandoning without cause an abundant source of revenue. But this decay of resources will be a work of time, and the opium trade with its shower of silver upon India will, though perceptibly diminishing, scarcely disappear in this generation. The Missionaries in China will restrict themselves to their proper duties, sadder at the spectacle of the awful increase of opium-smoking, perhaps wiser in having learned that it is idle to fight against Nature, free-trade, and the liberty of each man to control his own actions in things not forbidden by the laws of civilised nations. The Government of India will have to restrict its many plans of usefulness. The Anti-Opium Society will cease its exertions, unless, under the guidance of more thorough and earnest leaders, it turns its attention to rum and French brandy, exported from or consumed in England.

My own feeling has ever been in favour of getting rid, at as early a date as possible and at some sacrifice of revenue, of the monopoly, because a monopoly in itself is wrong, and in this case a scandal to some minds, and it seemed feasible to arrive at the same results on the East side of India, which have spontaneously arisen on the West side; but I am convinced now that the abolition of the monopoly would be prejudicial to the best interests of the people of India, and that is with me the paramount consideration. I have already stated that, if I were satisfied that opium was introduced by force into the Provinces of China *outside* the Treaty-ports, I should join the opposite party. Five years ago I called, with another member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society by appointment on Sir Harry Parkes, then Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at Japan, and satisfied myself that this allegation was not true. Only this week a Missionary from China told the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that the Chinese Government systematically neglected the provisions of the treaty as regards religious liberty. I made him repeat those words, and then asked him, why then it was alleged that they were afraid to do the same with regard to opium? His reply was that the Chinese were afraid of the merchants, but not of the missionaries. But this very day that I write this, I read in the *Times* (October 23, 1884) "that for the last nine or ten years the Chinese Government has been allowed to encroach on treaty rights, and have levied with impunity heavy excise (lekin) duties, which have virtually nullified the treaty



"advantage, and proved disastrous to the sale of Manchester goods in the interior." This is the statement of a Hankow merchant. In the face of such statements, and the fact that the Chinese Government is not afraid to go to war for ancient and shadowy rights over Tonkin with the French Government, how can we believe that the Chinese Government is not able to raise the excise (lekin) duties upon opium to such an extent as to raise the price, and restrict the sale? Is China not strong enough to put down smuggling if the attempt were made?

Nor can I, after calm reflection on the whole case during the last fifteen years, acquit the Anti-Opium Society of being the cause of the miserable end of the contest, which has injured the people of India by the destruction of a profitable industry and trade, and has yet multiplied the vice of opium-smoking in China beyond any previous calculation. What was their object? Did they desire to arrest the vice in China, or only to free the Government of India from the imputation of pandering to that vice? If we desired to wean the English public of their taste for alcoholic drink, we should scarcely commence a crusade against the importers of brandy, or the distillers of gin. The line which the Anti-Opium Society adopted of indiscriminate abuse had two effects: it stiffened and hardened the views of the Government of India. The statesmen who were or had been Viceroys, and the meritorious public servants who were or had been Governors and high officials, felt injured by the gross insinuations which they felt that they did not deserve: they at least understood the nature of the problem, but upon the Committee of the Anti-Opium Society there was not one Anglo-Indian of experience, nor was it likely that there would be one: a general feeling of resentment at, and contempt for, the movement was felt in Indian circles both in India and England. But their proceedings had another effect, not contemplated, but equally real. The eyes of the Chinese rulers were opened to the exceeding value of the trade, and to the firmness with which the Indian Government held to it. They saw also how feeble were the efforts of the Anti-Opium Society, whose motive was not the welfare of the Chinese, but the alleged discredit attaching to the English name. Opium cultivation was found to be as acceptable to the Chinese landowners, the local Governors and the State, as it has proved to be in India. It was not clear what results the Anti-Opium Society desired: it is clear what they have obtained.

LONDON, *October* 1882.

ROBERT CUST.

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## ART. X.—CASTE AND CUSTOM. I.

THESE papers are intended as a plea for the systematic study of Hindu ethnology and sociology. The subjects are of deep interest, although at first almost repellent in their vastness and variety. They concern a mass of people numbering two hundred millions, and a tangled web of races and creeds, the different threads of which patient enthusiasm can alone unravel. We very soon get over the impression that all Hindus are of one religion, or that all Hindus are of Aryan race; but it takes time accurately to appreciate the intricate complexity which actually exists. If three deaf and dumb men with their eyes open were to start from Bombay for the Peninsula, the Deccan and Rajputana respectively, and if each were asked on his return to describe the religious features of the country through which he had travelled, their tales would very widely differ. The first would have seen the carvings of Ganpati by the roadsides, the snake-stones wreathed often with sacrificial thread and set up beneath the pipâl trees, the village gods—frequently carved naked, but with their nakedness often covered by a cloth; and if he had penetrated into the sanctuaries, he would have found in many three images—the god, his wife and his brother, or the god, his wife, and his mistress. The traveller in the Deccan, on the other hand, would have been struck with the lingam stones within and without the little shrines, and generally faced by a small stone bullock, by the carved monkey-god underneath the big pipâl tree in each village, and by the red-daubed stones in the jungle. The visitor to Rajputana would have noticed the ancestor-worship evidenced by the necklace-pendants, the peacocks tame as crows, and the curious regard for animal life in the towns. Diversity of this kind is not apparent, but real; and we only need to observe accurately, and to make our enquiries at first hand, in order to begin to appreciate both the scope of the field for investigation, and the paucity of our present knowledge concerning the religious and social life of the Hindu masses around us.

In his recent work on the Indian Empire, Dr. Hunter gives a précis of the results of researches into early Indian History; and although the outline might have been lengthier without entering far upon topics of controversy, still its very brevity reminds us of the scantiness of our information. The written history of India has, until recently, rarely been little else than a history by its conquerors of themselves and their own doings.



The annals of the Musalmans tell us little, save that which directly concerns themselves, their wars, and their regulations: the works of the Brahmans tell us little, save that which directly concerns themselves, their creeds, and their philosophies. Musalman and Brahman alike had too hearty a contempt for those who opposed them to deem them worth studying.

The problem, therefore, stands thus: India is a land inhabited by a large diversity of peoples, cut apart from one another by lines other and (in one sense) deeper than those which separate one European nation from another. Of some few we know the origin and the history: but in respect of the vast numerical majority we know nothing on either point. Take, for example, the chief religious divisions of the people as given in the recent census tables. We know how the Christian population came into India: we can trace the Syrian, the Roman Catholic, the Protestant elements in their origin and influence. We know how the Sikh religion arose and how a sect of peaceful fanatics became transformed into a formidable nation. We know the story of the recent Brahmos, and something also of the origin of the Parsis. We have the history of the Musalmans in India from Mahamúd of Ghazni onward: we can trace their origin indeed more clearly than we can trace their increase; we know that they proselytise, but of the exact extent to which their ranks have thus been recruited, we have no precise knowledge. Concerning the Jains our knowledge is more imperfect: doctors still disagree as to whether the Jains are earlier or later than the Buddhists, or, in other words, as to what was the precise original relationship between the two sects. As for the Buddhists themselves, we know that the religion has disappeared—a disappearance so complete as to suggest a doubt whether the term Buddhism, when applied in those early days to the religion of all India, must not have been as vague and inexact as is the term Hinduism, used in the sense of Brahmanism, when similarly applied at present.

But the great mass of the people of India are those classed as Hindus and Aborigines. The dividing line is very vague if it exists, and any attempt to define it would certainly be futile. Hinduism as a religion does not possess any absolutely indispensable or universal dogmatic formula: and its utility, as a term of religious nomenclature, is marred by its much more intelligent and consistent use as a term of national nomenclature. The word as commonly used by the natives of India is applied to all inhabitants of the country, save and except the descendants of those who have, from the seventh century onwards, entered it by sea or by the north-west frontier; although even from this application must be excluded the Cochin Jews and all perverts to Islam, while on the other hand the term



covers converts from Islam to the various phases of Vaishnavism. The very exception however made in the case of perverts and converts, bears evidence to the use of the term as one of national nomenclature, for the pervert in either case abandons his natural family just in the same way as does a Hindu adopted son, and the use or discontinuance of circumcision perpetuates the new connexion. Hinduism enumerates Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu: it has drawn within its pale the Jain god and goddess of Pandharpur: it disputed, with Islam, possession of the body of the mystic weaver Kabir. It is of this mass of people, with what M. Barth calls their 'complex, manifold and outrageously confused' religion that we have so little ethnological knowledge. It is of course obvious that the invaders of, or immigrants into, India, together with the autochthones, or earliest traceable dwellers in the land, must, taken together, be the ancestors of all whom we now find in the country; though the tribal names of the invaders may be counted almost upon the fingers, while the names of the castes and tribes now in the country are to be reckoned in thousands. How have the few people multiplied and disintegrated into the many? and can we, to any extent, trace back the latter into the former, just as we trace back the twig into the branch, the branch into the limb, the limb into the stock of a tree? We know that the fissiparous process still continues, and the laws of its present development give us some clue to those of its past growth: can we by this or other means trace back the different castes or tribes with which we are acquainted, into the larger and less differentiated bodies from which they have issued? We know something regarding the invasions of India, and we know something of the people now here; in other words we hold both ends of the chain: how far can we trace the connecting links?

The break in our knowledge is brought into full relief when we more carefully compare what we know of the origin with what we know of the present condition of Hindu castes and tribes. Dr. Muir was of opinion (*Sans. I. vol. II. p. 448*) that there had been four great invasions of India, which he thus arranged in order of time:—

(1) A Kolarian immigration from the north-east, the evidences of which may be seen among such forest tribes as the Kols, Bhils and Santhals;

(2) An invasion of Dravidian immigrants from the north-west, who either advanced voluntarily towards their ultimate seats in the Peninsula, or were driven onward by the pressure of subsequent hordes, and who in the Satpura mountain, crossed the earlier stream of Kolarian immigrants;

(3) A Scythian invasion, also across the north-west frontier,



of immigrants whose language afterwards united with Sanskrit to form the Prakrit dialects of Northern India ;

(4) And lastly, the Aryan invasion.

But since the publication of the Sanskrit Texts, our knowledge has been considerably extended by researches in the realms of philology, archæology, and numismatology. The mountain chain of the Himalayas forbids land invasions except by the N. E. corner, that is, down the Brahmaputra valley, or by the N. W. border through the passes of the Safed Koh, the Sulémán, and the Hálla Hills. Immigrants from the N. W. were wont to take one of two routes after reaching the plain country : some struck to the east towards the valley of the Jamna and the Ganges : others travelled southward down the country watered by the Indus. The latter route lay between hills on the right hand and the sandy plains of Rajputana on the left : so that when pressed on closely by fresh immigrants in their rear, the only route open was by a sharp turn at right angles, after which came the choice of turning north-eastwards in the direction of Delhi, as Krishna is said to have done, or of holding straight on for the Kattiawar country and thence to Gujarat. Here the Vindhya and Satpuras wedge into the plain country, and turn part of the stream of immigration to the north and part to the south. This range of hills, running across India, cuts off the Deccan from Hindustan, just as the Himalayas cut off India from the rest of Asia ; and immigrants into the Deccan could only find routes through the plain country on the extreme east or the extreme west. It is as well to bear always in mind the part which the physical configuration of India must thus have played in determining the routes taken by new settlers. Of those who came by the North-Western frontier, the bulk must have passed into or through the Panjab ; and General Cunningham divides the population of that province into three strata. These are (1) the early Turanians or aborigines, (2) the Aryas or Brahmanical Hindus, and (3) the later Turanians, or Indo-Scythians. The early Turanians "include all those races of undeniable antiquity who do not belong to any one of the three classes of Aryas." To this class the General assigns the Taks or Takkas of Sind and the Panjab. Descended from Takshaka, the founder of the Naga race, they gave their name to Attock, and made their capital at Taxila near to Rawal Pindi. They came to blows with the Pandavas of ancient Delhi, and worsted them in battle about the year 1400 B. C., killing or assassinating the Pandava king Parikshita, the grandson of Arjun. His son however gave them no peace, and at last compelled them to sign tributary engagements. Part of the tribe migrated to the south and took refuge in Sindh ; whence "they are



mentioned by several writers as one of the three aboriginal races of that province. The main body continued their warlike career, extending their conquests until about the year B. C. 500, the period of their chief activity being a century earlier. They pushed as far down as the Magadha kingdom of Behar, according to Elliott (vol. i, p. 108), where they founded a dynasty which lasted for ten generations. Here, however, we get into the region of doubtful inferences and conflicting theories, which it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss. Suffice it to say that their career thus far had been such as would enable them to arrogate the rank of Kshatriyas, and that for men in such a position as theirs, Brahmans have always been ready to overlook and explain inconvenient or troublesome facts in their previous history. They are sometimes held to be the ancestors of the Tagas of to-day, a tribe found chiefly in the Meerut district, but also extending through Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr, Bijnor and Moradabad in the North-West Provinces and the adjoining districts of Delhi and Karnal in the Panjab. The total number of the Tagas is 115,920; but according to their own traditions, they came from Bengal. Those in the Panjab are said to be probably the oldest inhabitants of the Jumna Khadir: "about three-fourths of the total number have adopted Islam, and ceased to wear the sacred thread" which the Hindu portion of the tribe still wear in token of their claim to Bramanical descent.

The only other tribe which need be noticed and which is referred to this stratum, is that of the Megs, who in old time were called Makhs or Maghs, who dwelt at the time of Alexander's invasion on the banks of the Satlaj, where the river leaves the hills. The Megs of to-day, called also Mengs in Rawalpindi, are found for the most part "in the upper valleys of the Ravi and Chanab, and their stronghold is the sub-montane portion of Sialkot lying between these two rivers." They "have a tradition that they were driven from the plains by the early Muhammadans." They are weavers as well as leather workers, and in social status rank slightly above the Chamars. They number 38,467: but Meghwars (567) are also found in Baroda and in Gujarat (14), and possibly larger numbers exist in Sind, Rajputana and Central India. The name is also found as that of a subdivision of one of the Banjara tribes: and it may be worth noticing that the first Mang was called Meghya, and that Maghaya is a subdivision of the Doms.

The second stratum of population is that of the Aryas or Brahmanical Hindus, the twice-born classes of Aryan blood, among whom General Cunningham apparently intends to include Brahmans and Rajputs generally. Among the latter alone,



there are at least three large groups, the Solar race, the Lunar race, and the Fire-worshippers who, according to Colonel Tod, entered India at different times, but in the order named. The Suryavansis occupied the country on the north bank of the Ganges, from Oudh almost to the Brahmaputra. The Somavansis appropriated the whole of the Ganges valley above the Delta, and the valleys also of the Indus and the Jamna. Then came the great war, about B. C. 1426, followed by a redistribution of territory. The Aryan name, however, can be strictly applied to certain only of the Rajput tribes, and probably not to all Brahmans. There are others, however, who have a claim to the name. Among these General Cunningham enumerates the Janjuhas and Awans, two tribes of the Salt Range in the Panjab. The former are Rajputs and Jats and number 46,999; the latter number 532,855. From the place in which he finds the Awans, and from the fact that they appear to have been settled there for many centuries, the learned archæologist identifies them with the Júd race of the Emperor Babar, who with the Janjuha, "two races descended from the same father," had from old times been rulers of the hills of the Salt Range. According to his view the Janjuhas are most probably Anavas, or descendants of Anu, the second son of Yajati, founder of the Lunar race. Their name in the spoken dialect would then be Anu or Anuwán: and as this latter form appears to be the original name of the Awán tribe, and as "the district which the Awáns now occupy was colonized by the Anuwán or descendants of Anu" the learned General thinks the identification of the two tribes to be very probable. It is reasoning of this airy kind which called forth the lament of Mr. Beames on p. 112, vol. I, "Races of the North-West Provinces." Lepel Griffin and Abul Fazl set the Janjuhas down as Yadubansis, Yadu being the elder brother of Anu; while the Janjuhas themselves claim to be Rahtors, "descendants of Raja Mal Rahtor who migrated about 980 A.D. either from Jodhpur or from Kanauj to the Jahlam and built Malot." They now, as at the time of Babar's invasion, hold only the central and eastern parts of the Salt Range: they once held the whole, but were ousted by the Gakkars in the North and the Awáns in the west. The latter race appear to be of Ját origin, and to be of more recent date, having come through the passes west of Dera Ismail Khan, they rank socially below the Janjuhas, as the Janjuhas rank below the Gakkars. The Janjuhas forbid the remarriage of widows, while Játs allow Karewa.

The only other tribe mentioned by General Cunningham in this connexion is that of the Bháti or Bhatti, the royal race of Jaisalmir and the largest Rajput tribe of the Panjab. In this province alone 242,831 Rajput Bhatís and 95,858 Ját



Bhattis were enumerated; and the subject population of Bikanir and Jaisalmer are also largely composed of the same tribe. The Bhattis are "Yadavas of acknowledged descent through the far famed Krishna." Building his theory on a "generally accepted tradition of the race" General Cunningham thinks that for several generations before the invasion of the Indo-Scythians, the Bhatti tribe reigned at Rawalpindi, the ancient Gajipur, being ultimately driven across the Jahlam river, and unable afterwards to win back their former realm. Yet now-a-days the Bhatti wherever found, know nothing of this ancient kingdom in the Upper Panjab, but trace their origin "almost universally" to Bhatner in Bhattiana, or its neighbourhood—Bhatner, the ancient city "on the banks of the long dry Ghaggar, in the Bikanir territory bordering on Sirsa."

The Solar and Lunar Rajputs, the Janjuhas and Awans, and the Bhatis are the only races mentioned in this connexion by General Cunningham as being of Aryan descent. His inclusion of the Awans is of very doubtful accuracy; and his exclusion of certain other castes, even when dealing only with the Panjab, is still more open to censure. In this action he is apparently influenced by his very loosely expressed views as to the exogamous system of Rajputs being the test of Aryan descent. In speaking, for instance, of the Gakkars, he remarks that they have "at least one peculiar custom, which is quite repugnant to Hinduism. A Gakkar will give his daughter to none but a Gakar, whilst a Rajput is positively debarred from giving his daughter to one of his own class." For this theory, however, the General is very deservedly and very vigorously castigated by his own lieutenant, Mr Carlleyle,\* who points out that the rule is not universally observed even among Rajputs, as numerous families of Yadu descent at the present day "marry women of the same tribe; and they give, as their reason for doing so, that the ancient Yadus, in the time of Krishna, married women of their own tribe." But it is easier to point out that omissions or mistakes exist than to supply or correct them. General Cunningham probably would not exclude Panch Gaur or Paunch Dravid Brahmans: although some of those included within, and nearly all Brahmans outside these ten divisions, are of doubtful ethnical origin. In his work on *Orissa*, Dr. Hunter pointed out that Brahmans have, at sundry times and at divers places, been "amenable to social, perhaps to ethnical compromises," and that "so far from being an ethnical entity following an immemorial vocation, they contain within their caste every trade and calling. We have seen the Brahmans as shepherds, as ploughers of the soil, as potato-growers, as brick-makers, bricklayers and

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\* Arch. Surv. J. R. vols. XII, pp. 99-108.



petty traders ; as carpenters, stone-cutters, blacksmiths and village policemen, who in India rank very low in the social scale ; as the descendants of aboriginal fisher tribes ; as arbitrarily manufactured out of the promiscuous low castes ; as day-labourers and as menial servants." The Mahabrahman or Acharya, who performs funeral ceremonies, was included among Brahmans in the Panjab, but was excluded in the North-West Provinces at the recent census : Guraos and Golaks were included as degraded Brahmans in Baroda, whereas the former are pure Sudras, and the latter are half-castes, though born from a Brahman widow. The vast bulk of the Brahmans in India are of course Aryans, but the term " Brahman " like " Rajput " and " Banya \* or Wani " is too vague and extensive in its application to allow of scientific accuracy in its use : and in the case of each of these three divisions, enquiry, to be profitable, should be directed to the individual castes or divisions of which the main body is composed. The Chola and the Konkanasth, the Chauhan and the Ponwar, the Agarwal and the Oswal—these are the units for enquiry or description ; and it by no means follows that what is true of the unit is also true of the Brahman, Rajput or Banya generally. The Gaur Brahman, for example, " sees with horror his Saraswat brother eat bread from the hands of others than Brahmans, and do a thousand things which to him would be pollution." And in Berar while Panch Gaur Brahmans will eat food cooked by a Goshain if ghee, though not if water, has been used, the Panch Dravids will not touch it in either case. As long as the question of common descent is still unsettled, differences of this kind are important ; and can only be ascertained by making our unit of enquiry as small as possible.

The Khatri caste is held by Sir George Campbell to have a well-founded claim to Kshatriya descent, although Rajputs refuse to eat with them. Their home is the Panjab, and more particularly the central districts and the Rawal Pindi division ; while the Roras, or Aroras, whom the same authority holds to be ethnologically the same people, are found in the lower valleys of the five rivers. Khatri and Aroras are alike shop-keepers, but are superior in physique, in manliness, and in energy to the ordinary trader. They are acute and energetic in character ; fine, fair, and handsome in figure. Akbar's celebrated revenue minister, Todar Mal, was a Khatri : " Diwan Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan, and his notorious successor Mulraj, and very many of Ranjit Singh's chief functionaries were Khatri. Even under Muhamadan rulers in the west, they have risen to high administrative posts." They produced Nanak and Govind,

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\* Cf. Panj. Cens. Rep., para 532.



the founders of the Sikh religion, to which they still furnish priests and Gurus : although ninety per cent. of their entire number are themselves staunch Hindus. The Aroras, who are looked down upon by other Khattris, are supposed to be the " Khattris of Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, represented by the modern Rori." They worship Krishna and the Indus river. The Khakka is a smaller race " found in greatest numbers in the Kashmir hills lying along the left bank of the Jahlam " : they also are of Khatri origin, but are now all (654) converts to Islam. The Rors (40,731) give the same account of their origin as do the Aroras, who are in fact often called Roras in the east of the Panjab : but the Rors practice *Karewa*, and their identity with the Aroras is doubted by Mr. Ibbetson. The Gaddis of the mountain range between Kangra and Chamba, are described by Sir George Campbell as being " an interesting race of fine patriarchal-looking shepherds," most of whom are Khattris, the sub-divisions of their caste corresponding exactly with those found among the Khattris of the plains. Khattris in the Panjab number 4,19,139 ; Aroras, 6,01,440 ; and Khakhas, 654. Khattris are also found in smaller numbers throughout the North-West Provinces where they number 47,288 ; in the Bombay Presidency, chiefly in the Gujarat division and the Bombay city, numbering 30,968 ; in the Central Provinces, 3,905 ; in Berar, 2,015 ; in the Ajmir Commissionership, 911 ; and in the Haidarabad State 11,290. The Khatri of the Deccan is, however, generally a silk-weaver ; and it is quite possible that, though identical in name with the Khatri of the Panjab, he may be of different origin.

There are several other castes, whose claim to Aryan origin rests on a respectable foundation ; but as it is the object of this paper rather to urge a certain method or system of enquiry than to summarise previous arguments, I pass on to notice the third stratum of Panjab population, drawing attention however, before so doing, to the following suggestive extracts from Mr. Carlleyle.\*

" Firstly, we have no warrant whatever for supposing that Central Asia was entirely emptied at once of every single Aryan soul when the first Aryan colonists first entered India, or that all the Aryans came into India in one single lump or colony at first, or all at the same time, or that not a single Aryan, or no Aryan colonists or invaders ever came into India afterwards. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that there were plenty of Aryans still left in Central Asia, and that several successive Aryan colonies entered India at various different times ; and that of these, the latest Aryan colonists

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\* Arch. Surv. J. R. vol. XII, pp. 101—6.



may have been driven into India at a very late period, by the first Turanian hordes pressing them from behind. And the last of these several Aryan colonies may have entered India after the older Aryan settlers had degenerated into effeminate, mongrel and exclusive Hindus, and after the laws of caste had been established." In which case the fresher and purer Aryans would hold aloof from their degenerated predecessors and from pure pride of race would refuse to intermarry, while the older Aryans in their turn would refuse generally, except here and there "from fear or compulsion, or from politic reasons for their own purposes and interests"—to incaste the new arrivals. "Modern or even mediæval Hindu ideas," continues Mr. Carlleyle, "customs, practises and characteristics are not ancient Aryan—nay, they are not necessarily even Aryan at all. They are neither ancient nor modern Aryan: they are simply Indian, the product of an Indian people, of Indian temperaments, and of an Indian soil and climate. The Brahmanical system is entirely of Indian growth, and it is not Aryan. The caste system was repugnant to the independent feelings of free Aryans: it was wholly Indian." The whole eight pages (pp. 101-8) from which the above extract is made are a specimen of very vigorous and eloquent argument; although they contain much that is true but not new, and something also that is new but not true.

After the early immigrants from Turan and the hordes of Aryan invaders, came the later Turanians, or Indo-Scythians. These, like the Aryans, came not in one body, but made at least three distinct sets of inroads. The first set includes incursions made by the Gakkars, the Káthi, the Bálas, and the Sobii, or Chobia. Proceeding on his favourite grounds of identity of locality combined with similarity of name, General Cunningham identifies the Gakkars with Gargarida of Dionysius. Faith in the identity of locality is, however, apt to be shaken by the subsequent statement that there were two irruptions of Gakkars, the first colony, at least five centuries before Christ, settling on the banks of the Jahlam, and the second more than two hundred years later, in the valley of the Indus and its western tributaries. And, as regards the similarity of name, we are told that "the name Gakkar is most probably only a simple variation of the ethnic title of Sabar or Abar," so that "the Gakkars must have belonged to that branch of the ancient Scythians who were called Aparni and Sagarankæ, because their usual weapon was a club." The value of the whole chain of reasoning has been justly summed up by Mr. Thomson who says: "The Turanian origin of the Gakkars is highly probable; but the rest of the theory is merely a plausible surmise. On the whole, there seems little use in going beyond the sober



narrative of Ferishtah, who represents the Gakkars as a brave and savage race, living mostly in the hills, with little or no religion, and much given to polyandry and infanticide." While the Awáns and Janjuhas previously mentioned ruled the southern portion of the salt-range tract, the Gakkhars ruled the northern portion, and at one time (probably) overran Kashmir. They now number 31,881, and dwell "along the plateaus at the foot of the lower Himalayas, from the Jahlam to Haripur in Hazára." Compact, sinewy and vigorous, they make "capital soldiers and the best light cavalry in Upper India; proud and self respecting, but not first-class agriculturists; with no contempt for labour, but preferring service in the army or police. Their race feeling is strong, and a rule of inheritance disfavours Gakkars of the half-blood. Colonel Cracroft notes that they refuse to give their daughters in marriage to any other class except Sayads—they are Shiahhs by religion—that they keep their women very strictly secluded, and marry only among the higher Rajputs, and among them only when they cannot find a suitable match among themselves."

Leaving the Gakkars in the Rawalpindi division, General Cunningham comes to deal with the Sobii, the Kathæi and the Malli, three cognate races who, in the time of Alexander, held nearly the whole of the central and southern Panjab. The Sobii or subjects of Sophites he assigns to a district corresponding very nearly with Shahpur, and he identifies them with no special tribe now existing, but with the "Chobia" or club-men, who in the days of Alexander "wore skins like Hercules and carried clubs, and branded their oxen and mules with the mark of a club." The Kathæi dwelt between the Chenab and the Rávi, in the modern district of Jhang; and behind a triple pallisade of wagons, attempted to hold Sangala against Alexander. They are identified with the Káthi or Kathiá of to-day: while the Malli or people of Multan are identified with the Bálas. In these instances similarity of name is not helped by identity of locality. The Káthis claim to be Ponwar Rajputs, and the Bálas also claim a Rajput origin. The two tribes are connected, and the Káthi is undoubtedly of Scythian origin in name, physiognomy and religion. A few of them (5,850) are still found in the Panjab, but the bulk of their body seem to have gone southward into Sind about the year 500 A. D. When banished thence, they migrated to Surashtra in A. D. 642, and gave their name to Kathiawar. Their connexion with the Bálas is perhaps the reason that one of their two sub-divisions in Baroda is known as the Wála Káthi. Later on, they fought against the Bhattis of Jaisalmir, and also in the war between the Chauhans and Rahtors. Strong, robust and tall in figure, they



are still noted for their predatory and warlike instincts; and in the Baroda territory they are often outlaws. They still worship the sun, and adhere to their old abhorrence of child-marriage. In Baroda, where they number 3,325, only two girls under six years of age, and only 25 children under 15 years, are returned as married.

The next Scythian invasion was on a much larger scale. A large tribe, known by the names Su or Saka, held in the early part of the second century B. C. the provinces on the Jaxartes. The Su resembled the Parthians in speech, manner and dress. "In B. C. 163 the growing power of another horde, named the Great Yuchi, forced them to retire towards the south." They drove the Greeks out of Sogdiana, and established themselves there. But the Yuchi still pressed on them, and about B. C. 126, the Su tribe came swarming through Ariana into the Panjab. The Greeks fell back before them, and the Yadavas, who then reigned at Rawalpindi, were driven west of the Jahlam. Two tribes of the Su horde eventually settled in the Panjab, the rest remaining in the classical district of Ariana. The first of these is the Ját tribe who now number 2,643,109. General Cunningham identifies them with the Játii of Pliny and Ptolemy and the Zanthii of Strabo. The second is the tribe of Med or Mand which he identifies with "the Mers of the Aravalli range to the east of the Indus, of Kathiawar to the south, and of Biluchistan to the west." The Mers in their own district, Merwara, number 32,946; and although only 36 are found in the Baroda territories, there are probably considerable numbers in Rajputana and Sind. The Játs marched down the Indus Valley, followed by their rivals the Mers, and both tribes settled in Upper Sind. They "were found by the Musalmans in full possession of the valley of the Indus towards the end of the seventh century," by which time, however, they had become subject to a Brahman dynasty. Up to the close of the tenth century, the Mers appear to have remained in Sind, but the Játs had meantime been spreading up into the Panjab proper, where they were firmly established in the beginning of the eleventh century. By the time of Babar, the Játs of the salt range tract had been subdued by the Gakkhars, Awáns and Janjuhas." This story of the origin of the Játs and Mers, which rests on the similarity of names (Ját and Zanthii, Mer and Medii) is contested by many. The name Mer is the same as we find in Ajmir, Jaisalmir, Meru, &c., and means "hill," Mer as a tribal name being equivalent to Pahári and telling us nothing as to the ethnic origin of those who bear it. The Scythian origin of the Játs is questioned, on the score of their speech, by Dr. Beames, who however gives



no satisfactory explanation of the well-known custom (*karao*), whereby the younger brother takes the widow of his elder brother to wife. Mr. Beames says that "the hypothesis which is gaining ground among sound philologists, and which, moreover, rests on universal native tradition, makes the Jâts either Rajputs who have lost caste, or the offspring of Rajputs and some lower caste. In some parts of the Panjab they say they lost caste by crossing the Indus. They all say they came originally from the North-West Provinces, though they have some traditionary reminiscences of a sojourn in Persia." In discussing the same subject, Mr. Ibbetson says:—"It may be that the original Rajput and the original Jât entered India at different periods in its history, though to my mind the term Rajput is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do originally represent two separate waves of immigration, it is at least exceedingly probable, both from their almost identical physique and facial character and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock"; which, however, is now by no means free from foreign elements. "And it is almost certain that the joint Jât-Rajput stock, contains not a few tribes of aboriginal descent, though it is probably in the main Aryo-Scythian. Many of the Jât tribes of the Panjab have customs which apparently point to non-Aryan origin."

The men who drove the Jâts into India were the Yuchi or Tochari, a branch of the Eastern Tartars who, three centuries before Christ, had been the most formidable of all the Tartar hordes. One hundred years later, however, they had fallen upon evil times, and they split into two bodies. One body was the little Yuchi, afterwards known as the Ephialtes or White Huns. They marched off to Thibet, and six hundred years later founded a dynasty; and later on again, were vanquished by the Turks, not however before they had themselves "vanquished the Persian monarch and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth of the Indus." The five tribes of the great Yuchi, who had been left by their comrades on the banks of the Ili, marched down in a south-westerly direction towards Yarkand and Kashgar. They ousted the Su or Saka tribe and settled themselves in those provinces, extending their sway and consolidating their power. A change of name now occurs, and the Yuchi become the Kushan. The tribes now (B. C. 70-58) turned their attention to the Panjab and began to make conquests to the south and east. Their supremacy in the Panjab continued unbroken until the third century when it began to decline, and it would appear to have been finally overthrown by the White Huns in the beginning of the fifth century." As the Kushans, about 300 A. D., occupied the



Southern Panjab, and as three Gujar princes were reigning somewhere—possibly in the same country—more than a hundred years later, General Cunningham thinks that the Kushan and the Gujar may be identical. According to this theory the Gujar princes reigned during the fifth century at Bálmer in South-West Rajputana, *i.e.*, the country west of Jodhpur and south of Jaisalmer. They were ousted in A. D. 505 by the Bálas who reigned until they, in their turn, were ousted by a Brahman dynasty (742-711.) The Gujars of Bálmer went southward and settled in Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency. Another body of Gujars founded a kingdom, the local limits of which correspond very much with the Gujarat district in the Panjab. The period of their widest sway, however, was under their kings Hima Kadphises and Kanishka the Buddhist in the century before Christ, when their realm reached from Kashmir down to Muttra and the Vindhya.

At the present day Játs and Gujars are found chiefly in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces and Rajputana. The Játs are remarkably compact: they dwell for the most part in the country between the Ravi and the Chambal, and in that part of the North-Western Provinces, which lies north and west of a line drawn from Agra to Moradabad. The Gujars are found in the same provinces as the Játs (and also in Central India), but their local distribution is different. In the Panjab the Játs occupy the south-eastern tract, but the Gujars are found north of a straight line drawn from Peshawar to Delhi. In the North-Western Provinces the two castes are found, generally, side by side; and except for those found in Indore, Bhopal, Narsinghar and Rajgarh, Gujars like Játs, are rarely found south of the Chambal. Across the river, for the first three centuries of our era, lay another Scythian kingdom, that of Narwar or Nalapura, stretching to the Rávi river on the east, and ruled by the Naga dynasty. The Jamna was their northern boundary, and the upper course of the Narbada their southern; but the chief point to be noted is that the Chambal divided the two kindred nations.

South of the Naga kingdom in Central India, and south also of the Gujar Territory in Sind, lay that of the Ahirs, a race cognate with Játs and Gujars. They were in possession of Gujarat when the Kattis arrived there. They had followed the usual route. Before the Christian era they were found near the north-west frontier; they passed down through upper to lower Sind and thence to Gujarat. Early in the fifth century we find them settled in Nasik and Khandesh: and the fortress Asirgarh was according to local tradition built by Asa, an Ahir or Gaoli, "the tank and temple of Asa Devi, outside the fort on the south being named after his sister, Asáwari Devi." The forts of Gawilgarh (*i. e.*, Gaoli or Gwalagarh) and



Narnala, also in the Satpuras, are likewise attributed to the Ahir kings, who ruled thence over much of the neighbouring Gondwana country. They were however nominally tributary to the Yadavas of Deogarh and the Hindu dynasties in Malwa; and when these ceased to exist, the Ahirs or Gaolis acted independently. But with the great influx of Kunbis up the Tapti valley, the Gaolis appear to have lost their old supremacy; and at the beginning of the 18th century, the Gonds deprived them of their hill fortresses. But beside that part of the original body which turned down southward through Sind, and whose fortunes have thus been outlined, others went east. At the beginning of our era, an Ahir dynasty reigned in Nipál. From this is supposed to have sprung that Pala dynasty of Buddhist kings who, from the middle of the ninth century, ruled for two hundred years over Northern and Western Bengal; and who then, being driven out from the northern districts by the Sena dynasty, restricted themselves for the next 150 years to the western districts, and made Mungher their capital. This however can only have been one branch of the great body of Ahirs who moved from the Panjab eastward down the Ganges valley. That body has three well-known sub-divisions, the Jadubans, Nandbans, and Gwalbans. The Jadubans are the most northerly sub-division, to which nearly one-half of the Ahirs in the Panjab belong. Then come the Nandbans of the Central Doab; and below them again the Gwalbans of Benares and the Lower Doab. The first sub-division, which is the most friendly with Játs and Gujars, claims a descent from the Yadava Rajputs. The Nandbans division holds aloof from Játs and Gujars, and the Gwalbans rarely meets them. To this last division belong the Gwallas of Bengal. The caste is also known as Gaoli and Gawári, and those who were retained by the Gonds in their own service are now known as Gaolans. The total number of the Ahir or Gaoli race is nine millions. The exact figure is 9,151,011; but this includes some Golas in the Hyderabad State, and in the present state of our ethnological knowledge, it is certainly unsafe to assume, notwithstanding the similarity of name and occupation, that the Dravidian Golas and Idaiyars are the same people as the Gaolis of the Deccan. Gaolis and Ahirs form more than four per cent. of the total population of Hindustan and the Deccan, and muster strongest in the Central Provinces, Bengal and the North-West Provinces (including Oudh). In the last mentioned provinces, the districts they affect are Mainpuri, Etah, Etawah, and all the districts north of the Ganges and east of Lucknow. They muster still more thickly in Behar where they form nearly one-fifth of the entire population of the Bhágulpur division, and nearly one-quarter of the Patna division. In Orissa they



form 15 per cent., and in Chôta Nagpur 13 per cent. of the population. These figures are important, both for a reason which will afterwards appear, and also because they show that the region of a tribe's former exploits is not necessarily the region in which we shall find them now, two thousand years afterwards, and that identity of locality is therefore untrustworthy unless supported by other good evidence. The Ahirs do not form ten per cent. of the population in the Narbada valley: they have almost disappeared from Sind, Kattiwar and Gujarat: they do not form even one per cent. of the population in the Muttra district, the region to which they themselves point as their home. And although the Pála dynasty are supposed to have been Ahirs, still this is a point by no means free from doubt. One noteworthy point of resemblance between Ahirs and Gujars may be noted here, and that is their susceptibility to the proselytising influences of Islam. There is certainly no caste of good social standing in the Deccan which supplies so many converts as does the Gaoli caste.

The invasions of the Jâts and Gujars are placed by General Cunningham prior to the Christian era, and the incursion of the Ahir tribes must have been anterior to them again. But Scythian invasions of some kind are supposed to have continued during the first six centuries of our era. Summing up the results of investigations already outlined, we have for the North-Western frontier:—

- (a.)—A Dravidian invasion, which—whether this be merely another name for an early Scythian or Tartar invasion or not—has this marked peculiarity, that the invaders have retained their speech, and that that speech belongs to a different family of languages from those known as Indo-European or Aryan. This Dravidian invasion must have occurred at a very early date.
- (b.)—Then follows, possibly, a period of early Scythian or Tartar immigration.
- (c.)—Then comes the period of the Aryan incursions, extending over several centuries, and probably including many distinct immigrations of various peoples.
- (d.)—Lastly, we have a broken period of about one thousand years, during which Scythian or Tartar tribes made their way into India. Here also we know little or nothing as to the number of the separate bands of immigrants or their names.

Dravidian, Aryan and Scythian are therefore the three main sources to which that part of the population whose ancestors came in at the North-Western gateways of India may be traced back. It has nothing to do with the present purpose of this



paper that Scythian may, as it were, fade away into Aryan, or that Dravidian may be an earlier and Indo-Scythian a later development of one original stock. It is enough that we can recognise certain main characteristics of each of the three as being distinctive. The Dravidians made a clean sweep down to the Peninsula, taking their language with them. Traces of Dravidian influence are frequent, but they increase in number and intensity as we approach the present seats of the Dravidian population. They do not mark the route by which the original immigrants travelled. But the chief feature characteristic of the Dravidian immigrants is the retention of their language. By this we can connect the Gond and the Toda, distinguishing them from the Kol and the Santhal. Why the Scythian immigrants, on the other hand should, despite their numbers, have lost their language, is a mystery which neither Colonel Tod nor General Cunningham have attempted to solve. It is enough, as already stated, for our present purpose that certain characteristics distinguish races referred to the one, and are absent in those referred to the other.

I have dwelt thus in detail upon the immigrants from the North-Western frontier, both because they account for the mass of the population, and because the so-called Scythian element is the most puzzling and undetermined factor in the problems of Hindu ethnology. When we come to the immigrants who have entered India on the north-east, the ground is much simpler. These may be divided for ethnological purposes into two groups,—(1) the Kolarian, and (2) the Thibeto-Burman; and the tribes which belong to each group can, for the most part, be accurately distinguished, just as the Dravidians can, by the test of language.

There remains a large group which, for want of a better name, may be called the aboriginal or autochthonal group: and this completes the list of "ultimate genera" to which Hindu castes and tribes must be traced back. Summing up we have—

(a.)—Immigrants from the North-West.

1. Aryans, and
2. Scythians.
3. Dravidians.

(b.)—Immigrants from the North-East.

4. Kolarians.
5. Thibeto-Burmans.

(c.)—6. Aboriginal tribes.

In introducing his remarks on the ethnology of the Panjab, General Cunningham describes his purpose in the following words:—"Under the head Ethnology will be described the various races which have been settled in the Panjab from the earliest times down to the Muhammedan conquest, and an attempt will



be made to trace the downward course of each separate tribe until it joins the great stream of modern history." It is, on the other hand, the object of these papers to suggest an enquiry which shall be the complement to one made on the lines laid down by the Archæological Surveyor, an enquiry which, instead of tracing each separate tribe downward, shall endeavour to trace it upward, by means of distinctive or differentiating customs, from its present position to its proximate source. If in any single instance each enquiry proved complete and satisfactory, then the one would be the verification of the other: but in the vast majority of instances, all that can be looked for is that the one enquiry should, to a certain extent, confirm or discredit the other. The scope of the enquiry and its method will form the subjects of the remaining two papers: but it may here be remarked that certain cases will occur to which this method of inquiry will be inapplicable. Of the numerous tribes in India mentioned by Greek and Sanscrit writers, some may altogether have died out; and others may have dwindled in numbers until they are no longer strong enough to withstand the moulding influences of other caste-customs around them. There can be no doubt that a small tribe does in this way tend to lose its individuality. There may, on the other hand, be numerous castes at the present day, of whom it is impossible to predicate even their proximate source. Our knowledge, however, of the comparative ethnology and sociology of Hindu castes is still most meagre, and it is impossible to say what results systematic and scientific enquiry may not bring forth. Such an enquiry to be efficient, must needs be minute, conscientious, and laborious; although to those who have once put their hand to the task it generally becomes a labour of love. It is a matter which cannot well be made the subject of ordinary official enquiry: the most intelligent native official is, as a rule, utterly indifferent to all caste matters and customs, save those which concern him personally; and with this indifference there co-exists an ignorance which would lead him to reject as untrue any details which seemed to him strange or unlikely. There are of course exceptions to this rule; but generally, and to a certain extent among Europeans also, an enquiry of this nature can only be made by the man whose bent lies in this direction. To him it presents no hardships; and he will get his facts at first hand. A chat with the *shikari* when to-morrow's plans have been settled, a friendly talk with a stray villager or two near the camp, a little interest shown in their fasts and festivals, will put an officer on quite a new footing with his people, and will cause them to regard him as something more than a mere revenue-collector or impassive official.

EUSTACE J. KITTS.



#### ART. XI.—THE CORE OF THE RENT BILL.

“THE Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, before it is too late, again appeals to the Government of India to impose an ultimate check on the enhancements of rent, which this Bill will stimulate and compass.” Probably very few of our readers have waded through the seven hundred pages, which formed the extra supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 15th of last October, but those whose duty it is to do so, will find in the abundant dissertations therein contained no more weighty words than those of Mr. Rivers Thompson quoted above. The plain fact is that the new Rent Bill, far from in any degree justifying the wild charges of confiscation and semi-socialism in regard to landed property, which have been directed against it, is in danger of becoming the most powerful engine ever placed in the hands of a landed aristocracy for the enhancement of rent. If, indeed, the wise appeal of the Lieutenant-Governor is disregarded, the Rent Bill is, and must be, in effect the legalization of the very practise of the great landlords of Behar, which has reduced the Garden of India to be the bye-word that it is. What that practise has been is known to every one who has lived a week in Behar or has studied its social condition for a day. It was supreme in its simplicity. A succinct and summary order went forth from the Managing Office of the Zemindar that a *beshi* or enhancement of two or four annas in the rupee was to be demanded from his tenantry all round and the thing was done. Half a sheet of Queen's size note-paper would contain the whole monstrous illegality half-a-dozen times. It seems hardly credible, but it is the fact that it is a procedure of a very similar though more elaborate character that sections 8, 41 and 45 of the Bill develop and legalize. When one anathematizes the *thikadâri* system, as every high authority in India has done, he is only calling down the wrath of legislating men on the practise, which, in the legal language of the future, will be called enhancement by amicable settlement. The supposition always is that the tenantry are consenting parties, whilst the truth is that the enhancement is inflicted without their being even consulted. As to the *thikadar*, his position is equally fictitious. In name he is an independant land-speculator, but in fact an underling of the landlord, who pretends to accept the enhancement as a reasonable and realizable one, and then proceeds by force, intimidation, and other unlawful means to extort it. The sections of the Bill mentioned above, if unamended and unchecked, would permit, and by permitting, give the



full sanction and approval of Government to almost exactly similar enhancements made without the regulating intervention of any public authority and amounting to 25 per cent. every fifteen years. We can only say after a lengthened acquaintance with the management of Behar estates, that we have rarely known any landlord in that land of extortionate landlords, who proposed to augment his rental in this wholesale fashion, which we hope will never receive the *cachet* of the Viceregal Council. The only difference, indeed, between the old and new systems would be that the Zemindar could under the Bill dispense with the *thukadar* and all his illegalities and rascalities, whilst obtaining the same pecuniary profit for himself by strictly legal means.

It is true the framers, or more properly the emendators, of the Bill have endeavoured to fence round the dangerous provisions covered by the above sections with certain safeguards and minor limitations ; but, as we shall hereafter show, in the opinion of the most experienced officers these so-called safeguards must be futile and inoperative in practise. In actual rent transactions in backward and ignorant Behar, the sole fact that will ever reach the tenant's knowledge is, that the Legislature has unequivocally sanctioned the hated periodic enhancement of four annas in the rupee.

Before it is too late, therefore, we also venture to urge the Legislature to listen to the appeal of the Lieutenant-Governor, who, as he tells us, "cannot divest himself of the apprehension that not only will these limitations on rent be worked up to, but that in the near future they will become the ordinary measure of rent." The tenantry of Bengal cannot too warmly thank Mr. Rivers Thompson for his firm and outspoken declaration that "the margins of enhancement given in sections 8, 41, and possibly in section 45 of the Bill, are excessive. Unless the Bill gives them a *quasi*-title to do so, few landlords in these Provinces now-a-days would venture to ask for an enhancement of 25 per cent. on rents of old arable land every 15 years. Be it remembered, that such enhancements would *quadruple* the rent in less than a century—a result which the Lieutenant-Governor cannot think has been sufficiently realized." "Mr. Rivers Thompson," the admirable minute of the Revenue Secretary tells us, "dreads these wide margins to enhancements of rents, which over large areas are already too high. *He dreads them more out of Court than in Court*, notwithstanding the attractive guise of amicable settlements, for he knows from experience that when scrutinized these 'amicable settlements' too often stand forth in less pleasing colours." As exemplifying such experience His Honor draws attention to the real facts of the



rent disputes in Maimansingh, which have been so largely used in an utterly distorted version to colour a picture of wronged and ruined zemindars, beaten to earth by the lawless combinations of fanatical Wahabi tenants.

We must confess that till very recently we were amongst those, who in our hearts regretted that the new Rent Bill was being applied beyond the limits of Behar. In our ignorance, we fear we must admit, we would gladly have followed the principle of *laissez aller* in Bengal Proper. We were so engrossed by the pitiable condition of the Behar ryot that we failed to observe that the zemindars of Eastern Bengal had themselves brought about a state of things that no Government could overlook. The excellent report of the Collector of Maimansingh, Mr. R. M. Waller, has entirely changed our views. No one, who has not read his irrefutable arguments, can have any idea how solely and absolutely the zemindars are responsible for the confusion and crime, which have made that district notorious for years back. "A review," this officer writes, "of the history of the policy of the zemindars towards their ryots in the Maimansingh *pargana* shows that, so far as this portion of the Lower Provinces is concerned, there might almost as well have existed no rent-law at all since 1859, for the provisions of that and subsequent Acts passed by the Legislature for the regulation of the relations of landlord and tenant seem to have been entirely ignored. *Rents have been capriciously enhanced from time to time, and the objectionable system of farming out portions of the estate to the highest bidder seems to have been the rule.* The zemindars, whilst obliged to admit that this has in fact been the result of their management, plead that it having always been the custom of the *pargana* to revise the rent-roll at short intervals, they were perfectly justified, notwithstanding the provisions of the Rent Acts, in preserving the *status quo* ante 1859 and trying to prevent the accrual of rights of occupancy." The simple English of which is that the landlords, having defied the law for quarter of a century and having wiped their feet in its most vital provisions, are now posing as the victims of a tenantry, who, forsooth, have at last refused to pay absolutely illegal rents.

*Pargana* Maimansingh is the largest fiscal division in the north of the district. Rent troubles are by no means its peculiar portion. Its relative position is taken in the south by the great estate known as *pargana* Kágmári. Mr. Waller gives a large tabular statement showing the rates of rental village by village in the property of its five-anna shareholder in the Bengali years B. S. 1285, 1286 and 1289. We regret that its length prevents us reproducing it in full, but Mr. Waller's summary and comment may suffice. "By the settlement of B. S. 1286," he



states, "the gross rental, which in 1285 was Rs. 70 000, (and not very long before had been Rs. 40,000, while it had been held in *ijára* for some 30 years) was raised to the sum of a lakh and a quarter (Rs. 1,25,000), and in 1289 to a lakh and a half (Rs. 1,50,000.)" That is to say the rental of this property has been, in absolute contravention of the law, forced up 300 per cent. within a very few years, and actually doubled in four years. "The rates," Mr. Waller remarks, "speak for themselves, and together with the short period of the settlement and the terms of the *kabúliyats* seem quite sufficient to account for the present refusal to pay rent." Mr. Waller then gives, in the form of appendices, the statements of several ryots from different parts of *pargana* Maimansing in regard to the rental, past and present, of their holdings. The following are a few instances of enhancement appearing in them. We admit we have chosen the worst cases, because a system, which almost insolently rejects all reform on the ground of its inherently immaculate character, may fairly be judged by the maximum amount of mischief it is calculated to inflict. In the course of 21 years one ryot's rent had been increased, first from Rs. 27 to Rs. 54, a couple of years later to Rs. 92, and finally to Rs. 141, at which point he rebelled and joining a local combination became one of those wicked recusant tenants, who are driving the most loyal class in the country to beggary and despair. On the same estate the rents of three other ryots were increased *per saltum* at a single enhancement from Rs. 85 to Rs. 150, from Rs. 9 to Rs. 29, and, as a climax of zemindari justice and moderation, from Rs. 24 to Rs. 160. We also find a rental of Rs. 6 increased to Rs. 18, of Rs. 9 to Rs. 26, of Rs. 15 to Rs. 56, and of Rs. 30 to Rs. 111. And this is evidence collected, sifted and commented on with singular calmness by an officer of unquestionably conservative opinions.

When the Lieutenant-Governor with his long and wide experience of Bengal definitely expresses his "dread" of so-called "amicable settlements" or *kabúliyats*, as they are called when reduced to writing, we may reasonably anticipate the existence of some very strong evidence in support of such grave apprehensions. From Maimansingh the Collector writes: "As regards the Kágmári ryots it is true that they have refused to pay rents they gave registered *kabúliyats* for; but the terms of these *kabúliyats* are such as it is impossible to believe a body of *khud-khust* ryots could have willingly and knowingly agreed to, barring, as they do, not only the accrual of rights of occupancy, but making those already possessed of them renounces all claim to them and become tenants-at-will liable to eviction at pleasure. *It seems to me, therefore, that the zemindars of Kágmári have no one but*



*themselves to blame for the state of things that has arisen on their estates."* It was one of these gentlemen, as we noticed above, who, in a few years, increased his rental for Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 1,50,000. Mr. Waller, it will be observed, seems to believe that these extraordinary "amicable settlements," which, by the way, were duly registered in our offices by the hundred, were obtained under some form of pressure, or were signed by the ryots in utter ignorance of their contents. That *kabūliyat*s are actually executed under these unsatisfactory conditions is not a circumstance that redounds much to the landlord's credit. Such vicious agreements could have no value in a court of civil justice. Their worse than worthlessness, however, is strongly suspected. We find reference to personation at the registry office and local munsifs, native gentleman of impartiality and experience, have frequently rejected them as fraudulent and more than hint that they have in some cases been forged. So deeply is the first Munsif of Atiya, a sub-division of Maimansingh, impressed by the purely fictitious nature of these so-called "amicable arrangements," that he boldly declares that "*to allow the rent of an occupancy ryot to be enhanced by registered contract would be to afford him no protection at all.*" The chief Munsif of Barisal takes up a similar position and devotes a large part of his report to the description of a case, in which a Zemindar made three successive attempts at extorting *kabūliyat*s by force, and finally succeeded in obtaining these "amicable settlements" at enhanced rates after he had secured the conviction, probably with the connivance of the police, of his principal tenants, whom he had wantonly provoked to so-called riot but real self-defence. The first Munsif of Baraset, the Munsif of Netrakona, and other native civil judges unite in depicting the hollowness and baselessness of enhancement by registered contract, which it is proposed to make the backbone of the new Bill. Indeed, there is nothing more pleasant for an advocate of the more extended employment of native agency in our administration than the sound, experienced, practical reports of the native judges of Bengal, when compared with the exotic theorizings of some very distinguished Anglo-Indian legal luminaries. We have not found in these documents, it is true, a single reference to "landholding" in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha or the United States of America, or even to the land systems of England or Bombay. These gentlemen know a great deal about Bengal—many of them as man and boy for fifty years—and they are satisfied with that knowledge when discussing a Bengal Rent Bill. As we will point out later on, the most practical, if not also the ablest, report by an executive officer comes from the pen of the native Magistrate of the District of Bakharganj.



Thus far we have attempted to draw attention to the great "dread" of the Lieutenant-Governor in regard to rent enhancement and the extreme reasonableness of his fears. We will now venture to put forward the measure, which, though not a panacea, Mr. Rivers Thompson regards as the sole preventive left in the hands of Government to resist the greatest evil this country is suffering from. The declaration of a maximum limit of rent in terms of the gross produce of the land is "The Core of the Rent Bill."

Some limitation on rent is in itself justifiable. Rent may in Bengal be regarded for the most part as the interest of capital invested in the purchase of land, and we find that the profits of capital are universally limited in all civilized countries by the condition that they must be consistent with the reasonable health and comfort of the labourers, by whose industry they are originally produced. The Factory Acts are based on this principle, and are in fact nothing more or less than a demand by the State that factory hands should be permitted to live and thrive as a condition precedent to the accumulation of profit. The laws for the protection of seamen undoubtedly diminish the gains of the shipping trade. The cost of working mines is greatly increased, and the dividends arising from the capital invested in them proportionately reduced by the interference of the Legislature in favour of the miner. Similarly the tenant is the labourer, by whose industry the landlord obtains the profits of his capital, the tenant's wages being the value of his crop in excess of his rent. Is it unreasonable or unjustifiable to give to the land-labourer some form of protection, seeing that he is very much less a free agent than the factory hand, the miner or the sailor? It is perfectly true that the limitation of rent is an utterly different form of protection from any given the abovenamed classes of labourers, but its effect on the capitalist is precisely the same. It reduces the interest of his capital in order to enable his labourers to live in ordinary comfort and health.

We are certainly not amongst those who bear any form of ill-will to the great holder of land. Amongst capitalists he is individually very much the most useful member of the body politic. In this country as an honorary magistrate or in other public capacities his leisure enables him to be a most useful citizen. When we hear of the sacred rights of property we recognize none more sacred than his. No form of profit is more justly the object of Government aid in its realization than rent, on the one supreme condition that the rent demanded is a fair and reasonable one.

The Lieutenant-Governor has pointed out that, under the so-called limitation clauses of the new Bill, which are really



"stimulants" to enhancement, rents may be quadrupled in less than a century. We venture to say that under a law, in which the action of these limiting clauses is not itself limited, fair and reasonable rents are impossible. It is a very remarkable fact that this view was maintained at the Conferences of the District officers of the two Divisions, within which rent difficulties and disputes are a source of constant care to the executive. The opinions of five of the Divisional Conferences held last July and August, namely, those of the Presidency, Rajshahi, Burdwan, Dacca and Patna Divisions were regarded as authoritative. It is, however, important to note that for many years back in hardly any of the districts of the two first named Divisions has there been any serious trouble arising from rent disputes. There is consequently a great deal of theory and *à priori* argument apparent in the deliberations of their officers. For instance, in the Presidency Conference the so-called rule of demand and supply was nakedly proposed as a reasonable guide to rent enhancement, the fact being entirely overlooked that it was never intended to employ it as a principle influencing legislative policy, except in regard to things capable of increased supply. If the supply cannot be increased, as is the case with land, and no public interest bars the application of the principle of supply and demand we talk of a monopoly or fancy price. The guardians of the common weal may regard with indifference such prices when demanded for furs or diamonds or the best suite of rooms in a Rue de Rivoli hotel, but it is quite a different affair when the object of monopoly is some great public convenience, such as railways, or in a still more important degree, land. The Legislature will have no railway rings and fixes fares to a pice. Even the poor hackney cabby submits his charges to the strictest regulation by time and distance. The landed monopolist must similarly learn to bend the knee to public necessities.

The Rajshahi Conference was remarkable for one fact quite apart from the charge made, with high authority, that it did not approach its deliberations with as much impartiality as might be desired. In one district of the Rajshahi division, Pubna, rent disputes have been dangerously prominent, and its Magistrate-Collector took the very same view of the question of enhancement that the Lieutenant-Governor now insists on. The Burdwan Conference, although its deliberations were marked by much ability and freedom from prejudice, seemed unable to keep out of sight the entirely exceptional condition of the Government estates in Midnapur. Its opinions, consequently, though locally of high value, are tinged by a narrowness of view that has detracted from their authority, particularly on the question of rent enhancement.



The experiences of the District Magistrates assembled at Patna and Dacca have been very different from those of their brother officers, who met at Calcutta and Darjeeling. It is a fact beyond dispute that the new Rent Bill would never have seen the light had their experiences been similar in recent years. It is unhappily the case that it is the bitter warfare waged between landlords and tenants in the Patna and Dacca Divisions that have made rent legislation the urgent question it is to-day. The opinions of the men, who have given the best of their time to keeping the peace between these angry contending forces, are deserving of a special regard. In the Patna Conference one officer, the Magistrate of Sarun, supported in a marked way, certain pretensions of the indigo planters, who have usually played the part of allies to the zemindars of Behar. We notice the fact with pleasure. It was desirable that this great industry should make its case fully heard when its interests were under discussion. We do not, however, intend to discuss any of the special points raised by Mr. Forbes in his advocacy of the indigo planter. We desire to draw attention to the circumstance that it is this gentleman, who first, at the Patna Conference, renewed the demand for a limitation on rent enhancement based on the gross produce of the land. He moved that the enhanced rent "shall not in any case exceed one-fifth of the estimated average annual value of the ordinary produce calculated at the price, at which the ryots sell at harvest time." Mr. Forbes justified his motion by the argument, which to us seems unanswerable, that "there seemed to be *no other effectual way of protecting* occupancy ryots from a gradual enhancement of the prevailing rate, till it will practically become rack-rent." "Even the best landlords," he points out, "are gradually raising the rents of the lands on which the ryots venture to grow special crops, year by year, on *the principle of leaving to the ryot as small a margin of profit as will suffice for his subsistence.*" Such being the practice of the best landlords, the recurring famines in Behar are immediately explained by the fact that the worse, and unfortunately more numerous class of zemindars, do not leave to their tenantry enough to keep body and soul together, except in unusually prosperous years.

Mr. Forbes gives us a grim ideal of his "best and most liberally-minded landlord" in the person of the Raja of Hutwa, who extorts Rs. 20 a *bigha* for opium land. We have often wondered how long the Financial Department will allow itself to be fleeced by this peculiar impost of the Behar landlords on the production of opium. The land itself has no special fitness. It is of exactly the same quality as the surrounding fields that bear rice or maize



or wheat. The only difference is that the tenant has obtained a Government license to cultivate opium. "A fig for your Government license," cries the Most Loyal Class in the country, "not a grain of opium seed will you put down till you have paid us a rent (or rather a special fee and tax) of four or five or six times the ordinary rent of the land. And look you here; if you go grumbling and complaining to the Opium Agent we will stop its cultivation altogether, and make your village over on lease to Mr. so-and-so, the indigo planter." To such a degree of power have landlord pretensions grown in Behar, and to such a humble condition have Government interests fallen. We would not venture to say how many lakhs of State revenue do not the loyal and public-spirited Maharajas of Behar transfer to their capacious coffers by this cool process of taxing Government, at a most exorbitant rate, for the growth of opium.

Mr. Forbes and several of his brother Magistrates at Patna found an one-fifth produce maximum the sole possible preventive of rack-renting. The Dacca Conference, including the Magistrate of Maimansingh, arrived unanimously at a similar opinion in the following resolution:—"When rents payable by occupancy ryots are enhanced by private contract, they shall not in any case exceed one-fifth of the gross produce of the land or any other smaller proportion that may be fixed by the Local Government for local areas." Thus we find the two best informed and most experienced executive conferences declaring for the very maximum, which the Lieutenant-Governor is now pleading with the Supreme Council to accept.

Of all the District officers who were called on to aid Government with their advice on this most difficult and vital question, there was only a single native of the Lower Provinces, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Magistrate of Bakharganj and one of the members of the Dacca Conference. In his case again we find that a life-long experience of the relations of landlords and tenants in Bengal have led him to precisely similar conclusions. In the 45th paragraph of his very able report, he almost repeats the language of Mr. Forbes before the Patna Conference: "I regret," he writes, "the exclusions of this maximum limit, because with that limit we have lost *the only one protection against rack-renting* which would be found *efficacious in practise*. All the other complex safeguards provided in the present Bill will be completely ignored and evaded in practise." After alluding to the persistent disregard of the existing rent-law in the districts, in which he has served, Mr. Dutt proceeds:—"Judging, then, from the ways in which rents are forced up by landlords, I have no hesitation in stating that the limits



now prescribed against excessive enhancement will be wholly inoperative against rack-renting. On the other hand, the rule of maximum rent in proportion to produce was *a simple and effective* rule which would have saved ryots from rack-renting. It would prevent much litigation; it would prevent the fabrication of much false evidence about the rates of rent and the rise in prices, and its operation would have been wholesome and effective." The supreme necessity of the imposition of this maximum limit is, indeed, the most prominent idea in the report of the only native District Magistrate in Bengal. He recurs to it again and again. In a subsequent paragraph he writes:—"As the *only practically efficacious bar* against excessive enhancement—and the *only measure which can prevent rack-renting* in Behar and widespread disputes and ill-feeling in Eastern Bengal—the maximum limit rule should be enacted into law and should not be abandoned." Further on, Mr. Dutt plainly declares that "It would be better, in my opinion, to postpone legislation altogether than to pass this Bill without *the one positive check* it contained on rack-renting in Behar and rent disputes in Eastern Bengal." We would endorse this opinion in the strongest manner. If this all-important provision is excised from the Bill, that measure will become as useless a piece of legislation as the Irish Land Act of 1871, and we have not the smallest doubt but that ten years will not have passed away before the Legislature will have been forced to produce, under far less favorable conditions, a new Rent Bill containing the very provision now in danger of rejection.

It may be said that rent-suits now-a-days are exclusively tried by the Munsifs or native civil judges. When such cases come before European judicial officers it is almost invariably on appeal in connection with some point of law and not of fact. That is, the Munsifs are brought into intimate acquaintance with the merits of such suits, whilst the European judges are called on to exercise their higher skill in the application of the existing law. There can be no question of the comparative value of the two classes of knowledge so obtained when it is proposed to enact a new rent-law. The reports laid before Government bear out natural anticipations as regards their character. The European Judges' opinions are all that can be desired as regards procedure, the various legal "presumptions," the legal "status" of parties, the principles of "compensation," the "legal value" of registration, the most advisable forms of "execution," "distrain," "service," &c. The Munsifs go straight for the merits of the changes proposed as they are likely or unlikely to result in an improvement of the existing relations between landlords and tenants. They rarely refer to previous decisions of the High Court.



Their language is seldom even legal in its form. Their reports, on the contrary, are full of plainly narrated experiences from the daily routine work of their courts. They are in a word practical and, coming from native gentlemen of impartiality, education, and, above all, of the widest and minutest experience, invaluable to the Reformer. We will quote a few of them:

To begin with the near neighbourhood of Calcutta, we find the Judge of the Small Causes Court, Sealdah, a very senior and able officer, after describing the insurmountable difficulties surrounding the existing law regarding enhancement, declaring that "the gross produce test, in my humble opinion, was a more sure one. Unfortunately it has been abandoned by the Legislature. The ryots and the landlords are accustomed to it as could be seen from the existence of *bhowali* and *bhágjote* tenures. It would have given the courts a *tangible and satisfactory* way of dealing with such cases." The Munsif of Baraset adds his regrets on the omission of the maximum limit for exactly the same reason, "Rent in India was always a certain share of the gross produce." This is really the heart of the whole question. Years and years ago acting under the influence of English barristers and English ideas of land-holding, we revolutionized the whole land and rent system of the country. We created landlords in the English sense where there had been none, and we degraded the vast mass of the peasantry of Bengal from the independent position of a free-holding yeomanry, paying in rent a fixed proportion of their crops or its money value, to that of rack-rented tenants-at-will. There is only one thing left for us to do, and that is, to face right round and forgetting Merry England and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and the United States, take up the thread of native custom in regard to land-holding and patiently unravel it. The Musalman conquerors of India, with all their oppression of its old inhabitants, never permitted the zemindars to demand from the people more than one-fourth of the produce of their fields, although they themselves were forced to contribute ten-elevenths of their rentals to the public exchequer. At the worst we should not exceed this limit, whilst we would hope that our character for humanity would require a lower one.

There is little need of further adding to the mass of authoritative opinion reproduced above. We venture, however, to extend our quotations to a very few other important officials. The Munsif of Atiya, who holds his court in *pargana* Kágmári in the District of Maimansingh, one of the very centres of agrarian disturbance, gives us as the result of his special experience the statement that "It seems to me that one-fifth of the gross produce would be a very fair maximum rate; it is the limit which never ought to be exceeded." The



decision of the Select Committee of the Viceroy's Legislative Council to reject this limit is very ably met by another native civil judge, the Munsif of Baraset, and in much the same significant language as that used by Mr. Forbes and Mr. R. C. Dutt. "Instead of taking away *the only absolute check on rack-renting*," he writes, "Government should be prepared to meet the difficulty—nay, it is its duty to do so, considering that it admits that it has neglected to protect the ryots for a very long number of years. The prevailing rate is retained as a ground of enhancement. But which is the more difficult to ascertain—the prevailing rate or the gross produce of land in staple crops? *Undoubtedly it is the former.* The gross produce of different classes of land may be ascertained, if not with mathematical correctness, at least, with sufficient accuracy to meet the purposes of the tenancy law." If there is any one point on which the judiciary of Bengal, European and native, is united in opinion it is that the ground of enhancement retained by the Select Committee is, and always has been, unworkable in practise in our civil courts. Even the Eastern Bengal Landlords Association declares "What is deemed the prevailing rate in each particular locality is one of the most difficult of questions." His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor does not hesitate to state that "the prevailing rate is condemned by the weight of authoritative opinion as illogical, unnecessary and mischievous." And it is this provision, which must be worse than useless in its effects, for it admits of being worked only through fraudulent and collusive methods, that is to take the place of the immemorial, simple, and just check on rents that every advocate of the tenantry demands.

For ourselves we have to say in conclusion that simultaneously with the adoption of measures for putting the rent system of this country on an equitable footing, there is nothing we would more strongly urge on the attention of the Legislature than provisions to assist the realization of just and reasonable rents. Such provisions we are glad to think will form part of the Rent Bill, whilst the proposed law which has been introduced into the Bengal Council for the Registration of Tenures and their subjection to a summary procedure in order to the realization of rent arrears is a very important step in the same direction.

We hold that the landlords of Bengal have a claim, and a very strong claim, on the Legislature for some simple and effective means of realizing their rents, which they have so soon to hand over in large part as land-revenue to the State, but we hope that they will never obtain such legislative benefits till they have taken to heart the great principle of doing unto others as they would others would do unto them.

C. J. O'DONNELL.



ROS SOLIS.—THE DROSERA : A CARNIVOROUS  
PLANT.

1. A little simple plant it is—  
The Drosera,—the Drosera  
That hath destroyed my way.  
O'er all the fields it scattered is  
Alas ! and well a day,  
For I had thought that Eden land  
Existed still to-day.
2. They know it well, the wee Sundew  
In Britain's distant fields  
Familiar as the bell of blue  
And side by side they often grew  
By my most lonely way.  
I never thought that Eden land  
Would thus be stol'n away.
3. I looked upon the leaf yestreen  
And eke upon the flower,  
And what was there disclosed I ween,  
Did sweetest sense o'erpower.  
Alas ! and well a day,  
For there I saw dear Eden land  
Reduced to common clay.
4. There is a strife of law and life  
Throughout all life's domain,  
“ But surely,” to myself I said,  
“ The flowers will sure refrain.”  
Alas ! and well a day,  
And had I found the thing I prayed  
I'd happy been to-day.

5. But this I saw within the claw  
Of Drosera—of Drosera !  
Three beautiful blue butterflies  
That in her spells remain.  
Their lives were ta'en, their bodies slain—  
Upon thy leaf they lay.
6. And curse of man, and curse of God  
Upon thee shall remain  
Thou humble murderer of the clod  
That beauty hath so slain,  
Alas ! and well a day,  
O ! Drosera—O ! Drosera\*  
That dwells upon the plain !

28th September 1884.

J. J. W.

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\* See my Uncle Toby's remark : " I am very sorry for him."



## THE QUARTER.

THE principal Indian events of the Quarter have been—the departure of Lord Ripon ; the arrival of Lord Dufferin ; the publication by the Government of Bengal of their final Report on the Bengal Rent Bill ; the publication by the Government of India of a Resolution on the report of the Education Commission ; the Purneah outrage case ; the progress of the Afghan Boundary Commission ; the evidence taken before the Commission appointed to inquire into the sanitary condition of Calcutta, and the progress of our “ little war ” in the Zhob valley.

It is difficult, perhaps entirely impossible, to estimate with anything like accuracy the position which Lord Ripon's viceroyalty will occupy in the history of India. The policy of his administration has been bitterly assailed—it has been as enthusiastically lauded—and some considerable time must elapse before it can be judged in anything like an impartial spirit. We stand too near ; and when a whole country is divided as it were into two camps, those who are keenly interested *pro* or *con* in the legislation of the hour, it is certain, that the statesman responsible for that legislation will be judged with favour or prejudice, but not with justice. In the meantime Lord Ripon's most ardent admirers are constrained to admit that his administration has not been, practically speaking, a success, but they claim for that administration the *merit* of having been in advance of the time. Now it may be doubted, whether his claim can be allowed in any degree—and even if it is allowed—if it be conceded that Lord Ripon's measures only anticipated a time when they will be necessary or desirable—it may be reasonably questioned whether that fact can be regarded as a merit, and whether, on the contrary, it ought not to be regarded as one of the most serious faults which could by any possibility be imputed to the Viceroy's administration. To precipitate reform is to delay it—often to prevent it altogether, and Lord Ripon has probably been the worst enemy of the policy which he represents and the administrative changes which he tried to effect. Lord Ripon's admirers are convinced that the Ilbert Bill was a measure which, if it had been delayed, for say 15 years, would have been passed into law with no difficulty whatever ; would have been accepted by the European community as the logical corollary of all antecedant legislation

having for its object the equalization of the two races in the eyes of the law. If this is really the case we, the opponents of the Bill, owe a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Ripon. Any future attempt in the direction aimed at by the Bill has been rendered for ever impossible now.

Lord Ripon, before he left India, made a sort of triumphal progress through the country, and was everywhere received by the natives with every demonstration of enthusiasm and respect. This was as it should have been. The natives are perfectly justified in looking at Lord Ripon's administration from a native point of view, and Lord Ripon's good intentions towards them are altogether unquestionable. But it would only be too easy for Lord Ripon, and his admirers, to put a very false construction, indeed, on His Excellency's undoubted popularity with the millions whom he *intended* to benefit. The demonstrations in favour of Lord Ripon were calculated to emphasize and accentuate in the minds of the more ignorant and unthinking sections of the native community the profoundly erroneous impression, that Lord Ripon's opponents were, as a rule, men wanting in sympathy with natives and anxious to perpetuate race-distinctions and race-prejudice. This is the broad view taken of the question by millions of the natives themselves, but that view is altogether erroneous and utterly unjust. Mr. Rivers Thompson was opposed to the Ilbert Bill, but that opposition, so far from being conceived in a spirit of hostility to the native community, was dictated, from the first, by the sincerest regard for what he believed to be the truest and best interests of the natives themselves. He foresaw that the Ilbert Bill, if it was passed into law, against the feeling of the English people, would mark a new departure in the relations between European and natives, and that those relations would be marked by a revival of race-hatred, the consequences of which no man could foresee. With this conviction, looking at the question from this point of view, he voted against the Bill, and for this he, one of the truest friends the native community ever possessed, has to endure the scurrilous calumnies of the native press, and see himself pilloried in every Bengalee journal as the sworn enemy of India.

Lord Dufferin was received by all classes of the community with the most marked cordiality.

Lord Dufferin's appointment is significant of the political considerations which are pressing on the attention of all thoughtful Anglo-Indian politicians just now. Russia is practically in possession of Herat, and Herat is the key of India. She can march on Herat whenever it pleases her to do so, and is impossible to believe that our Government will remain



inactive in presence of a danger at once so imminent, and so serious. In the meantime Russia is consolidating her power in Central Asia. She has practically annexed Khiva, and she is pushing forward a system of railway communication which will enormously facilitate her designs on India in the event of a war between Russia and England. It is difficult to believe that Lord Dufferin has been sent to India to continue the disastrous policy of inactivity which has brought the Russians to our very gates. It is not yet too late to redeem much of what we have lost by that policy.

Lord Dufferin's antecedents as a diplomatist encourage us to hope that he is not insensible to the blunders we have committed, and to the perils we have invited. In his speech at Belfast he was very outspoken, indeed, about the Russian menace, and he took what we believe to be a perfectly just and accurate view of the requirements of our policy just now. Too much prominence has been given, too much importance attached, to what we may call for want of a better word, the individual-opinion element in connexion with the Central Asia question. The statements or opinions of eminent Russian diplomatists (disavowing Russian designs on India) have been accepted and paraded abroad by our Government as authoritative assurances, guaranteeing our safety and the innocence, and even friendliness of Russia's designs on India. Now, as Lord Dufferin seemed to imply, it is absurd to imagine that statements of this description, even assuming them to be sincere, can have any real bearing on the question one way or the other. What a nation like Russia intends to do, or will do, when she gets the opportunity, may, as a rule, be measured by what she can do. Can Russia invade India; that is the important question for us, and, from the position which Russia now occupies, it is indisputable that she can. Would the invasion succeed? This is another and entirely separate question. Russian ability to make the attempt is what we must recognise, and on this point General Skoboleff, in his conversations with Mr. Marvin, was candor itself. It was very doubtful, indeed, whether a Russian invasion of India could be carried to a successful issue. This was frankly admitted. No man could possibly forecast the military probabilities of such an enterprise, but the invasion, whether successful or not, could scarcely fail to be productive of enormous advantages to Russia. It would detain in India the greater part of the English army, not merely for the purpose of resisting the invasion, but for the purpose of keeping watch over the Native States, as it is extremely unlikely that the Native States will remain passive in the event of a war beyond the frontier. If at such a time Russia moved on Constantinople, is it credible that England would be able to put an army

into the field which in point of numbers would be equal to the task of defending India and giving any effectual aid to the Turks? This is the Russian calculation. On the other hand, there is no need for any over anxiety on our account. Our defensive position in India is an exceedingly strong one, and, with Candahar in our possession, could be made very much stronger still. If Russia has drawn nearer to India, so have we. There can be no doubt that the process of transporting an army by sea is, in these days, and especially for a great naval and commercial power like England, a far easier one than the transport of an army by land, and in a contest of this description, the inexhaustible wealth and resources of England would tell with tremendous effect in the event of anything like a protracted contest with a poor country like Russia, because, except in territory and numbers, Russia is a poor country. This is the situation with which Lord Dufferin will have to deal, and we have every confidence that he will deal with it in a manner worthy of his great reputation and experience as one of our most cautious and vigilant diplomatists.

As regards questions of internal administration, the general tenor of Lord Dufferin's observations at Belfast would seem to imply that he is coming to India to leave them alone. This might have been anticipated. His Lordship highly eulogised the Indian services and paid them impliedly the significant compliment of believing that the internal administration of the country might with great safety, and to a very large extent, be left in their hands. The Government which Lord Dufferin represents is pledged in principle, if not in detail, to Lord Ripon's policy, and a continuance of that policy, on more cautious and tentative lines, is certainly all that can be reasonably expected from the new Viceroy, so long as he represents a Liberal Cabinet in India. It is therefore almost certain, we believe, that Lord Dufferin's arrival in India will not mark any new departure in connexion with questions of domestic policy. It is, perhaps, as well that it should be so. What India wants, in connexion with internal administration, is rest. This is the real and crying need of the country. Judges cannot keep pace with changes in the law, or executive officers with changes in all the forms of executive administration, and of the multiplication of laws and forms there is no end. All we want is, breathing time to consolidate what we possess, and for an interval of one Viceroyalty, at least, to possess our administrative souls in patience and in peace.

The final report by the Government of Bengal on the Rent Bill was published during the quarter. The report is an exceedingly able one, and states the arguments in favour of the proposed legislation in a manner so masterly and so exhaustive, that the



opponents of the Bill will have a very hard nut to crack, indeed, in any attempt to upset Mr. Rivers Thompson's reasoning. Will they be equal to the task? The report includes the various reports of the various official conferences which were held by order of the Government in connection with the subject. The Bengal Government propose certain modifications, some in the interests of the zemindars, others in favor of the ryots—of the provisions of the Bill as it left the hands of the Select Committee last March; but the great principle of the Bill—the necessity for granting in one form or other fixity of tenure at fair rents to the Bengal ryot—has been resolutely maintained, and will, as we sincerely hope, be maintained to the last. The Bengal Government maintain that consistently with the maintenance of this great principle the just rights of the Zemindar are so protected, that there need be no reasonable fear that the value of their property will diminish in the least. So for those who, like ourselves, believe that the Bengal Government have satisfactorily established that position the case in favor of the Bill is, in the main, an overwhelming one. And this would seem to be the opinion of the ablest and most experienced officers who have been consulted on the subject. It would be impossible for us in the space at our command to summarize these opinions; but to those who have time to spare, and sufficient interest in the agricultural prosperity in Bengal, to stimulate their curiosity, we would recommend a perusal of the reports of the Conference of Behar officers held at Patna and of the Legal Remembrancer to Government. Their reports seem to us to sum up every thing that can be said against the Bill, and afterwards to show in the most convincing manner that the arguments in favor of the principles of the measure greatly preponderate over those which can be adduced against them. Except on one point, namely, the transferability of occupancy holdings. On that point it seems to us that Mr. Rivers Thompson has with much success reconciled the claims of the agricultural community with the dictates of prudence. In concluding a remarkable State paper, Mr. Secretary MacDonnell thus sums up the Lieutenant-Governor's proposals. These proposals are:—

- I.—To modify the presumption as to fixity of rent by requiring proof of such fixity in all future cases from 20 years before the passing of the Bill.
- II.—To abandon the proposal to convert into a tenure-holder a raiyat who sublets more than half his holding. (The Lieutenant-Governor would maintain section 209, which provides that, on the registration of tenures under any law for the time being in force, the summary sale procedure of the Bill for recovery of arrears of rent shall apply to such tenures.)
- III.—To recognize the right of free transfer of occupancy holdings among the agricultural population in Bengal Proper; but in

Behar to leave [matters to be regulated by custom as at present.

- IV.—To omit the pre-emption clauses of the Bill, and to substitute for them a system of compulsory registration accompanied by notice of the transfer to the landlord.
- V.—To give to landlords in Bengal Proper a veto on transfers if the purchaser be a person who does not derive his chief subsistence and income from agriculture.
- VI.—To recognize the principle that, in the absence of reason to the contrary, the courts shall regard a rise in the price of staple food-grain as entitling the landlord to an enhancement of rent.
- VII.—To fix the percentage by which the enhanced rent shall exceed the former rent at a definite proportion (one-half is suggested for consideration) of the percentage by which the enhanced prices exceed the former prices, the other portion going as an allowance for increased cost of production.
- VIII.—To assign to enhancements on the ground of landlords' improvements a maximum limit of double the former rent.
- IX.—To abandon the provision for enhancement on the ground of a "prevailing rate," experience having shown that no such rate exists, and that the position assigned to it in the present law, has led to the construction of collusive and fictitious rates for the purpose of forcing up rents.
- X.—To abandon fluvial action as a ground of enhancement of rent, but to recognize freedom of contract between landlord and raiyat in regard to new alluvium.
- XI.—To withdraw the arbitrary limitations on enhancements by suit on account of a rise in prices, and to allow contracts for enhancement of rent out of court up to a maximum limit of 2 annas in the rupee ( $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.) of the former rent, and for a minimum period of 15 years.
- XII.—To withdraw all restrictions on freedom of contract in respect of the *initial* rent of all land which may lapse to the landlord from whatever cause.
- XIII.—To re-introduce the provision that the rent of the occupancy or non-occupancy raiyat shall not exceed one-fifth of the value of the gross produce calculated in staple food-grain.
- XIV.—To give the non-occupancy raiyat a right to claim compensation for disturbance up to one-fourth of a fair rental for each year of the tenancy.
- XV.—To withdraw all restrictions on freedom of contract with under-raiyats, subject only to the provision that the under-raiyat's rent shall not exceed the value of five-sixteenths ( $31\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.) of the gross produce calculated in staple food-grain.
- XVI.—To strengthen the customary rights of ryots in *bastu* land by providing that rights of occupancy shall accrue under the Bill in all such lands.
- XVII.—To make action under the chapter for preparing Tables of Rates dependent on the application of either party, and not, as in the Bill, on the discretion of the Local Government.
- XVIII.—To retain the present law of distraint with sharper penalties for abuse of it.
- XIX.—To omit the section regarding *utbundi* and *halhasili* lands, to regard both classes as subject to the ordinary incidents of *ryotti* land.

This concludes the observations which Mr. Rivers Thompson has, on this occasion, to offer on what is undoubtedly the most important subject



which has, since the days of the Permanent Settlement, engaged the attention of Her Majesty's Government in India. The Lieutenant-Governor ought, perhaps, to apologize for the length to which his remarks have run ; but he was anxious on this, the last opportunity which may be afforded him before the final consideration of the Bill, to explain with necessary fulness the motives which actuate him in supporting this measure, and to defend its main principles from the misconceptions to which they have been exposed. It was also his wish to record, with due advertence to the opinions of his officers, and with such argument as the time at his disposal permitted, the reasons on which, in the interests committed to his charge, he bases claims for modifications in some of the provisions of the Bill. He now respectfully confides the question to the Government of India, in the assurance that the result of their counsels will be the enactment of a Tenancy Law in Bengal, which will restore peace where unrest now prevails, and ensure the growth of prosperity and contentment among all classes of the agricultural community throughout these Provinces.

The objections to the Bill are very numerous, and so far as those objections relate to questions of detail, well deserving of consideration, but those objections so far as they deal or attempt to deal with the principle of the measure, resolve themselves into one very easily disposed piece of reasoning indeed. The Rent Bill, so we are told, will entirely upset the existing conditions of land-tenure in Bengal. Sir Leicester Dedlock had the same objection to any extension of the franchise and conveyed that objection in very much the same terms, because the truth is that he looked at the question from very much the same point of view. An extension of the franchise would "open the flood-gates of revolution" to overwhelm the "framework of society" and the "bulwarks of the constitution." Of such are the platitudes by means of which ignorant and interested conservatism tries to escape from the inevitable necessities of change—even when change is demonstratively and imperatively necessary ; change which may be delayed or postponed, but cannot possibly be permanently averted ; change which if it does not come from above, will assuredly one day come from below, for it is impossible to believe that an "open sore" of this description can be kept open indefinitely without any attempt on the part of Government at remedial legislation.

And now in connection with the Bill, there only remains the final and important consideration—When will it be passed into law ? "*If 'twere done, when 'twere done, it were well it were done quickly.*" No accusation against the Government of precipitation, or undue haste of any kind, or in any direction, can with justice be urged as a plea for further and indefinite delay in connection with this most important measure. Mr. Rivers Thompson has been careful to secure the fullest and most exhaustive discussion of the Bill, section by section, clause by clause, almost word by word, and the last words of the Government of Bengal are now under the consideration of the

Government of India. Caution and delay are admirable legislative qualifications up to a certain point, but they can very easily be carried too far when caution means nothing more than a weary and endless reiteration of exploded fallacies, and delay may mean an agrarian rising. We have deprecated—we shall always continue to deprecate—petty and incessant changes in connexion with all the details of executive administration, but a great reform of this character is merely the acceptance by the Government of a great political responsibility, forced on them by all the circumstances and conditions of land-tenure in Bengal.

The Purneah outrage case was a very regrettable incident, indeed. There was nothing very extraordinary in the details of the case itself. A native thief tried to screen himself from detection by bringing a counter charge of theft (in respect of the stolen property) against his accuser. The accuser happened to be a European gentleman of position and respectability and the police authorities (accepting the fact that a *prima facie* case had been made out against Mr. Walker), caused him to be arrested in his own house, and brought into Purneah under a guard to answer the charge. The circumstances and manner, as well as the fact of the arrest, formed the *gravamen* of the charge against the Police Inspector. If it was necessary that Mr. Walker should answer the charge, a simple summons would have been sufficient and all the painful and humiliating accompaniments of his arrest would have been avoided. As it was, Mr. Walker had no difficulty in disproving the charge, his accuser was convicted, and the native Inspector who arrested him was committed for trial, tried, and very properly acquitted. The Inspector only obeyed orders, and the responsibility for Mr. Walker's arrest did not rest with him, but with the District Superintendent of Police. The whole case was simply a mistake, arising out of the fact that the police authorities acted on imperfect and untrustworthy information, and without due inquiry. It is certain that there was no race-feeling connected with the case one way or the other, and it seems a pity that the trial was taken advantage of in certain quarters to revive race controversies and recriminations.

The Afghan Boundary Commission has not yet commenced any important part of its intended work. In our issue for October we ventured on some observations concerning the Commission to which we may be pardoned for calling some special degree of attention at the present time. We pointed out that the Commission was at best useless—at worst a source of increased danger instead of additional security in connexion



with Russian designs on India. Since our article was written, there has appeared in the November number of the "National Magazine" an article on the same subject from the pen of Arminius Vambéry, the distinguished Central Asian traveller, and perhaps the greatest living authority on Central Asian politics. The view of the Commission, and the possible outcome of its labours, taken by Vambéry is identical with our own, and the language in what he conveys his view is almost word for word identical with that employed by ourselves. The physical peculiarities of the country, according to Vambéry, are such—the interfusion of nomadic tribes about the frontier line is so great—that precise boundary definitions will be all but impossible. The new boundary line must be created. It does not exist, and if it is created, it will be an entirely artificial line which may be observed with great respect in Downing Street, but which will have neither meaning nor existence for the tribes which frequent the wild countries on either side that line. This is our loss and Russia's gain. When Russia wants to push her advance beyond this imaginary line, she will only have to foment a state of affairs on the frontier which will give her the most plausible pretext for not respecting it. Summing up, as it were, on the whole question the objects of the Commission, and the means by which it is proposed that those objects should be gained, Vambéry concludes as follows—

And, besides, to whom can this projected frontier-cordon (which an Indian politician, Sir T. Madhava Rao, very justly described as a line "of length without strength") be of service, when the supervision of the farcical scheme is confided to agents so untrustworthy as Russian and Afghan *employés* are? Let us take it for granted that this Boundary Commission has carefully drawn out on paper the future boundary in its full length, and that, beginning at Khodja-Salih, as far as Sarakhs, or, rather, as far as Pul-i-Khatum on the Heri-Rud, all those points have been taken note of which on the one side belong to Afghanistan, and on the other to Russia—is not one justified in asking whether the English officials in Calcutta or London can be informed in time of the inevitable transgressions of the boundary laws of which aggressive Russian officials may be guilty? From whom would they expect the information? From their so-called Afghan allies, on whose dominions up to the present day no British officer can venture without exposing his life, and whose officials do not even inspire their own Sovereign with confidence?

The contemplated frontier might perhaps be of service if, at intervals along its line, five or six small English garrisons could be left behind as stations on guard, stations which, on one side, would be able to communicate with each other, on the opposite side with the posts pushed forward from Quettah: these would be the only possibly trustworthy sentinels. But as this plan, judging from the dangers to which the travelling Commission is exposed, seems, in the actual condition of Afghanistan, impracticable, we cannot refrain from repeating that this Boundary Commission, with all the expense and noise of its *mise-en-scène*, is indeed a laughable comedy. It is possible that the comedy, in a mere party point of view, may serve its purpose; but Mr. Gladstone's Government have not made the shadow of an attempt at solving the question of the future—that of the



possession of India. We would rather look upon this failure as an unpardonable want of foresight, than as a conscienceless piece of self-deception. For whilst public opinion in England is lulled by these palliatives into the torpor of security, Russia has the finest opportunity, backed by this illusory frontier-line, to prepare herself in silence for that leap which will deal her death-blow to Great Britain, great and powerful as she still is at this moment. For the last twenty years England has been planning the famous buffer which is to form a wall between herself and her rival in Central Asia, and has not yet discovered the extreme want of elasticity in the Afghan material of which this contrivance is to consist.

ARMINIUS VAMBERY.

The Resolution by the Government of India on the Report of the Educational Commission is a substantial acceptance of all the more important recommendations of the Commissioners. Higher education is to be encouraged, primary education greatly extended, the educational systems obtaining in the different Presidencies are, as far as possible, to be assimilated, and district educational administration is to be handed over to a great extent to the local boards. So far so good, but a very important recommendation of the Commissioners has been quietly shelved by the Supreme Government. The professorial organization of the Department is in a very lop-sided condition just now. Many of the senior officers came out to this country when the curriculum of university education was very different indeed from the present curriculum ; when such subjects as Chemistry, Physics, Botany, &c. &c., were not taught to anything like the extent to which they are taught at present. What is the result ? The senior officers have to a great extent lost touch of the "new learning" of modern education. But it would be utterly unreasonable to expect, or demand, that these officers should retire on the miserable pittance which is dignified with the name of a pension for the Uncovenanted service. So the Commissioners recommended some improvement in the pension rules of educational officers as a means of inducing, and enabling them, to retire. This recommendation is quietly set aside by the Government of India. The question is one which was settled about thirty years ago, and it is not desirable to "re-open it." A more absurd, impolitic, or unjust decision was never arrived at even by Lord Ripon's administration, which is certainly saying a good deal.

The evidence taken before the Commission appointed to inquire into the sanitary condition of Calcutta has not, so far, thrown much additional light on the vexed question of Calcutta sanitation. The general result of the inquiry has been to confirm, in every important particular, the charges against the Commissioners. This result has been obtained in spite of the strenuous



exertions of Mr. Cotton who, with an ingenuity and perseverance worthy of a better cause, tried to divert the evidence of every important witness—notably Dr. Payne—from the real object of the inquiry, to petty and personal side issues, which had no real bearing on it whatever. The syllogism which represents Mr. Cotton's logic is a very comical one indeed, and will scarcely stand the test of close examination : Dr. Payne had an animus against the Commissioners. Therefore, the charges brought by Dr. Payne against the Commissioners, being inspired by personal feeling, cannot possibly be true. Dr. Payne says the Commissioners are inefficient. This cannot be true. Therefore they are efficient. Mr. Cotton is, evidently, not very strong in his Jevons or Aldrich.

G. A. STACK.

*The 20th December 1884.*

## SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS FOR 1883-84.

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### *Report on the Administration of the Land Revenue of Bengal, 1883-84.*

THIS is a valuable and important Report at all times, but, in connexion with the Rent Bill controversy, it possesses a very exceptional degree of value and importance just now. The general conclusion arrived at by the Lieutenant-Governor after a review of the Land Administration in Bengal for 1883, is stated in the concluding paras of the Government Resolution :—

“The general conclusion to which the Lieutenant-Governor comes on this question of the relations existing between landlords and tenants is, that the landlords, wherever they are powerful and stronger than their ryots, are now taking advantage of their position to secure themselves against the effects of the Tenancy Bill in regard to fixity of tenure and fair rents. The tenants, who are mostly ignorant, are not in a position to resist. In this may be seen the source of future difficulty which the landlords are preparing for themselves. On the other hand, where the ryots are strong and united, the landlords are getting the worst of it, and are being kept out of their just dues. On all hands, it is a matter of emergent necessity that the present unsettled condition of things should be brought to a speedy termination by the enactment of a measure which shall place the rights and liabilities of all on a sure, intelligible and equitable basis.

“The remainder of the Board's report is concerned with matters of detail, which, though important in themselves, need not be reviewed here. It is only necessary to say that the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to find that greater attention is being paid to the important duty of office inspection, and that the training of young Civilians in survey and settlement work is being attended to.”

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### *Progress Report, Forest Administration, Bengal.*

THIS Report, according to the Lieutenant-Governor, is at once “full and exhaustive,” and “needlessly lengthy,” and “overloaded with detail,”—a neat equation of praise and censure in the same sentence. The general record for



the year is not one of very satisfactory progress. The general financial results are given in the subjoined table :—

YEAR.			Receipts.	Charges.	Surplus.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1883-84	...	...	6,94,334	3,87,813	3,06,521
1882-83	...	...	6,93,959	3,82,184	3,11,775
Increase	...	...	375	5,629	.....
Decrease	...	...	.....	.....	5,254

The receipts have been almost stationary, while the charges have risen, and the surplus has fallen in proportion. No reason is assigned in the report for this sudden cessation in the steady growth of forest revenue during the last ten years, except that the reserved forests in the Sunderbuns have yielded less profit. The increase in the charges is attributed to expenses on account of the Calcutta Exhibition.

*Financial Results of the Excise Administration,  
Lower Provinces, 1883-84.*

FROM a financial point the Excise Administration for the past year, has been a great success.

PERIOD.	Revenue.	Charges.	Net revenue.	Percentage of charges.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Average of 1878-79 to 1882-83	83,79,296	2,69,118	81,10,178	8.2
1882-83	97,81,850	2,65,436	95,16,414	2.7
1883-84	1,04,23,171	2,55,087	1,01,68,084	2.4
Difference of the past two years	+ 6,41,321	— 10,349	+ 6,51,670	— .3

There was thus an increase in revenue of Rs. 20,43,875 over the average of the preceding five years, and of Rs. 6,41,321 as compared with last year. Moreover, there was a decrease of Rs. 10,349 in charges as compared with 1882-83. The largest increase of revenue occurred in Patna (Rs. 1,11,190), Chittagong (Rs. 57,126), Calcutta, Suburbs, and Howrah (Rs. 41,797), Shahabad (Rs. 37,890), Monghyr (Rs. 31,580), and Lohardugga (Rs. 31,025). Only seven districts show a decrease, viz., Gya (Rs. 15,263), Nuddea (Rs. 6,305), Purneah (Rs. 3,172), Rajshahye (Rs. 2,786), Dinagepore (Rs. 1,648), Noakholly (Rs. 1,559), and Backergunge (Rs. 469).

But His Honor postpones to another opportunity any observations on the all-important question in connection with Excise Administration,—the outstill system. Has the increase in excise revenue been accompanied by an increase of drunkenness among the people? On this point we have very conflicting

opinions from the District officers, but the majority are certainly of opinion that it has.

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*Report on the Administration of the Salt Department of Bengal,  
1883-84.*

**S**ALT is looking up. The figures for the year 1883-84 are very satisfactory.

"The total quantity of salt in stock at the commencement of the year was 14,16,637 maunds against 23,18,543 maunds in 1882-83. During the year under review, 94,62,565 maunds were imported against 84,46,014 maunds imported in the previous year, and 6,37,672 maunds were manufactured locally against 2,87,846 maunds locally manufactured in 1882-83. The total quantity available for consumption during the year thus amounted to 1,15,16,874 maunds against 1,10,52,403 maunds in 1882-83. Duty was paid on 94,64,307 maunds, including 5,16,498 maunds of Bombay salt passed free of duty. The stock in hand left at the close of the year was 20,00,056 maunds against 14,16,637 maunds in the previous year. There has thus been an increase both in importation and manufacture during the year of report.

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*Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department,  
Government of India, for 1883-84.*

**T**HE science of Meteorology is in its infancy, but then it is a very thriving and promising infant indeed. The most interesting part of this Report is Mr. Eliot's remarks on the storms which occurred during the year :—

1. Storm of June 13th to 16th at the commencement of the south-west monsoon, and which gave the first heavy burst of rainfall to Behar. It formed near the Balasore Coast on the 13th, and advanced into Behar where it broke up on the 20th.

2. Storm of June 26th to July 4th. This was generated slowly near the Sandheads on the 26th and 27th, and was of considerable intensity, and remained nearly stationary until the 29th. It crossed the Balasore coast early on the morning of the 30th.

3. Storm of July 6th to 8th. This was formed at or near the Sandheads under similar conditions to the preceding, but was of small intensity. It crossed the Balasore coast on the afternoon of the 7th.

4. Storm of the 12th to 14th of July. This began to form on the morning of the 12th off the south Orissa coast, across which (between False Point and Gopalpore) the centre advanced on the evening of the 13th, or early on the morning of the 14th into the Central Provinces. It was of slight intensity.

5. Storm of the 16th to 18th of August. This was formed in the north-west angle of the Bay, and crossed the north Orissa coast near Balasore. This storm was very small, and of every slight intensity, and of no importance.

6. Storm of the 23rd to the 26th of August. This was generated further to the south than the preceding storm, and crossed the Ganjam coast between Gopalpore and Vizagapatam on the evening of the 25th. It was of slight intensity.

7. Storm of the 30th August to the 3rd of September. This depression



crossed the coast near Balasore on the afternoon of the 2nd of September and was of moderate intensity.

8. Storm of the 6th and 7th of September. This was formed immediately after the preceding, and followed along nearly the same track, crossing the Orissa coast to the south of Balasore on the morning of the 7th. It was of small intensity.

9. Storm of the 11th to the 15th of November. This was apparently generated in the Martaban Gulf, and advanced first in a north-westerly direction to latitude  $16^{\circ}$  N. and longitude  $93^{\circ} 45'$  E. in the neighbourhood at Diamond Island, and then recurved slightly and moved northwards parallel to the coast and broke up in the neighbourhood of Akyab during the afternoon of the 14th. This was the most severe and intense storm of the year in the Bay, but was of very limited extent, and hence did not apparently affect the weather in the north-west angle of the Bay.

10. Storm of the 2nd to the 4th of December.

11. The above list of storms for the year 1883 presents two important peculiarities, which are both illustrations of generalizations and deductions, to which attention has been called in my cyclone reports. The first is the unusually large number of small cyclonic storms during the period when the south-west monsoon was in force at the head of the Bay and in Bengal. The south-west monsoon of last year was unusually weak, and terminated abruptly in the latter part of September. A weak monsoon is usually accompanied with heavier rainfall than usual near the head of the Bay, and with the consequent formation of a larger number of cyclonic storms or atmospheric whirls. The past south-west monsoon has apparently been a well marked illustration of this principle. The other important feature was the absence of storms during the period extending from the 15th of September to the 10th of November. After the abrupt termination of the south-west monsoon in Northern India, north-easterly winds set in almost immediately on the Coromandel Coast and gave heavy rain for several weeks, so that the commencement of the north-east monsoon in Madras last year was one of the most favourable for agricultural operations which that Presidency has experienced for some years. Heavy continuous rain on the Madras Coast during the October transitive period is, as indicated by the condensation theory of cyclones, unfavourable to the formation of cyclonic whirls on the Bay at that time. Experience confirms this, and indicates that a strong north-east monsoon on the Madras Coast, with heavy and more or less continuous rain over the land, is associated with an absence of cyclones in the Bay. The past year was a remarkable example of this principle. The October transition period was characterised by unusually fine weather in the Bay, and by the non-occurrence of a single storm until the 11th of November, when rainfall ceased for some time in the Madras Presidency.

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Summary of the Report of the Committee on the Affairs of the Colonies

The Committee has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Report of the Committee on the Affairs of the Colonies, dated the 1st of September 1885, and to express its appreciation of the valuable information contained therein. The Report is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the general principles of colonial policy, and the second with the specific details of the various colonies. The Committee is of the opinion that the principles laid down in the first part of the Report are sound and practical, and that they should be adopted as a basis for the future conduct of colonial policy. The details of the various colonies, however, are so numerous and so varied that it is impossible to deal with them all in a single report. The Committee has therefore confined itself to a general statement of the principles which should govern the treatment of all colonies, and has left the details to be dealt with by the appropriate authorities in each colony. The Committee is of the opinion that the principles laid down in the first part of the Report are sound and practical, and that they should be adopted as a basis for the future conduct of colonial policy. The details of the various colonies, however, are so numerous and so varied that it is impossible to deal with them all in a single report. The Committee has therefore confined itself to a general statement of the principles which should govern the treatment of all colonies, and has left the details to be dealt with by the appropriate authorities in each colony.





## CRITICAL NOTICES.

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### GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Malleson's Battle-fields of Germany.* London: W. H. Allen, & Co., 1884.

AMONG the most successful of literary Anglo-Indians, Colonel Malleson, C.S.I., occupies a prominent place alike by virtue of versatility and industry. From the Struggles of the French in India to the Wars of the Republic of Genoa is a wide step; and now,—after a brief but useful return to India in the biography of Clive,—the gallant author has turned to a new source of interest in the Military History of Germany, from the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War to the Battle of Blenheim. During that century of wonders, there were many reputations won and lost, much labour and heroism among all classes, with an amount of mischief, misery, and demoralisation from which Central Europe has hardly yet recovered. On this dark background the names of Banner and Toostensen, Pappenheim and Wallenstein, Sobieski and Duke Bernhardt, Marlborough and Prince Eugene, Turenne and Condé, above all, the great and good Gustavus, King of Sweden, shine out in lurid splendour.

The events of this long and busy period are too numerous and important to be all treated with equal fulness in the compass of one volume. But Colonel Malleson has done what was wanted; and by the manner in which he has done it, has filled a blank on the shelves of European history. Narrating the great battles with a minuteness of detail due to thorough study both of books and of the localities, drawing the portraits of the principal actors with a spirited and yet impartial hand, he has linked them together with skilful literary art. His style, as is the case with all writers of ability, has gained with practice. It is more sustained than of old; with fewer "purple patches," and none of those stretches of somewhat common-place dissertation that occasionally occur in some of his earlier works.

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H. G. KEENE.

*The National Review* for October, contains some noteworthy and remarkable papers. Lord Salisbury argues from a statistical

standpoint in favor of redistribution, and makes out an excellent case for his view of the question. Proceeding from a consideration of the redistribution question to a general review of Mr. Gladstone's tactics, Lord Salisbury says:—

"Formerly, it was in most cases only 'blundering' that an Opposition had to deal with. Occasionally there were wide divergences of principle; but the ordinary work of an Opposition was to convince the country that the Ministers were guilty of mistaken aims and incompetent administration, and the obvious, and, indeed, only cure they had to recommend was that they should be allowed to try their hands and prove their own superiority. This is the essential function of an Opposition under a system of party government, and must remain so as long as party government exists. Perhaps it tends to justify the old definition of party, 'the madness of the many for the profit of the few'; but the mechanism can be worked in no other way. It is not possible to remedy the blunders of a Government, except by changing the men who compose it. But in addition to this primary duty, the shifting of political issues has imposed upon the Conservative Opposition a totally different function, which can be fulfilled, at least to a considerable extent, even when a change of Government is impracticable. They have to prevent 'plundering,' as well as to remedy 'blundering'; and the performance of this duty interests their followers throughout the country quite as much as the leaders in the House. When a Radical Government, now-a-days, comes into power, with a strong majority at its back, a feeling spreads itself abroad among all sorts of people who belong to any class electorally weak, similar, at least in kind, to that which is felt in a Turkish province on the announcement that a new Pasha has been appointed. They know the process of 'conveyance' is about to begin."

Mr. Frederick Harrison comes in for some hard knocks from Mr. Wilfred Ward, in connection with his (Mr. Harrison's) latest developments of Positivism:—

"And here we have the key to the whole difficulty. Mr. Harrison had preached a high-sounding creed with high-sounding articles of belief; but we now know that his significant words were not to be taken literally. There was a 'Providence'; but it was a providence only in a Pickwickian sense; it aroused feelings of ecstasy, that is, of Pickwickian ecstasy; he expressed a Pickwickian hope that it would be with us in death, and an expectation that we should be 'incorporated into its undying life' in a purely Pickwickian sense. In fact, Mr. Harrison's new creed is the translation of his old creed from Pickwickian into English. 'How mere a phrase,' he had proudly exclaimed in his criticism of the Unknowable, 'must any religion be of which neither belief nor worship nor conduct can be spoken'! And in consequence his readers were naturally led to look closely at these three elements as they are supplied by Positivism. The belief is belief in 'a Power controlling our lives,' in 'something immeasurably nobler and stronger than self'; that something is Humanity. Comte called it the Supreme Being. Mr. Harrison explained that our feelings towards it are so ecstatic as to befit an almost 'infinite idea'; that it is 'the source of all good and our perpetual Providence.' This seemed to promise well for the element of belief. But when we press closer, we are told the Power is only a power, as the wall against which we bump our heads is a power which can hurt us; that it has no consciousness; that its Providence has no care for our individual lives; that it is immeasurably nobler than self only if we exclude from consideration what is ignoble, immeasurably stronger only because many men are stronger than one. So, too, we have always understood that two men are better than one



in a fight ; and I remember a riddle which I used to hear as a child, which asked 'What makes more noise than a lion roaring' ? And the answer was 'Two lions roaring.' The Supreme Being, the Power, Humanity, like those gigantic figures seen on a mountain through the mist, diminishes in size as we approach it, and become more sure of its reality ; until at last, when we touch it, we discover that what seemed so awful is only mortal man like ourselves. Surely I cannot be accused of exaggeration or of throwing undue ridicule on Mr. Harrison's position, if I say that to call belief in our fellowmen—for it comes to nothing more as he now explains it—religious belief is to use the phrase in a very Pickwickian sense."

But perhaps the most interesting paper in the *National* is that by Mr. Gallenga on Italian Social Life. The military prospects of Italy are thus summed up by an ardent and patriotic Italian :—

"But, alas ! the proof of an army is in the fighting ; and, however well appointed a regular force may be, it must rely for permanent success on a warlike people arrayed in its rear as a second file in reserve. A real manly army can only be draughted out of a nation of men. Physically, I am afraid, the Italians can find but few really available recruits except among their hard-working and long enduring, though half-starved peasantry. The peasant race is fine, but almost everything conspires to unnerve it : their habits, their early self-indulgence, above all things their diet—for how can a man be a man on *polenta* or *macaroni* alone ? The race is honest, docile, highly sensitive, equally amenable to good and evil influences. There is nothing you cannot do with an Italian. Nothing an Italian will not do away from corrupting home associations. But he requires sound and steady, though gentle and loving discipline. Strong passions must be curbed with a strong, though not a harsh hand. The knife should be taken from him as the sting from a wasp. What has stayed Italy in her progress is that morbid humanitarianism that came in with second-hand French democracy, and taught that leniency of punishment would be the best preservative against frequency and enormity of crime. 'Do away with the gallows and the cat o' nine tails,' democratic philanthropy taught, 'and your republic will be a happy family.'

"But the contrary should be the doctrine : the Italians should be taught to love and fear the law. They seem to begin to see the error of their ways now, when that impunity of crime which had demoralized social order, threatens to sap the foundations of military discipline. They find that, after all, there is some good in powder and lead. They will soon be aware that good hemp-rope may be equally used to some advantage."

A. GALLENGA.

#### *A short history of the Indian people.*

WE observe that this admirable little publication has already reached a sixth edition, and that a new edition will shortly be published. The popularity of this little treatise is thoroughly deserved. The book is intended for schools, and it is in every respect admirably adapted for the purpose for which it is intended. Dr. Hunter's style is always charming : flowing, lucid, graceful, and the matter of the book is admirably divided and arranged. In a work of this kind the difficulty which besets the compiler, is rejection not selection. There are mountains of materials, but in what to retain is shown the art of

the skilful compiler—and here Dr. Hunter is at his best. The selections have been most judicious—no important historical fact, or at least no fact having an important bearing on the larger events of Indian history is omitted—and the inferences and reflections by which they are accompanied, although necessarily brief, are always admirably appropriate and sagacious.

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*Forestry in Southern India.* By Major General H. K. Morgan : Edited by John Short, M.D., M.R., C.P., F.L.S., Higginbotham & Sons, Madras.

THIS is a practical treatise on Forestry in Southern India, which ought to be in the hands of every Forest Officer in India. It contains a mass of useful information arranged in the simplest, clearest, and most intelligible manner possible. The principal trees are taken in order—teak, sandal-wood, &c., &c., and their history, peculiarities, and mode of treatment, are sketched with a fulness of detail, and a minuteness of observation which leaves nothing to be desired. Where differences of opinion exist as regards mode of treatment, these differences are carefully noted and thoroughly discussed, and the result is a book which, as a *vade mecum* to the forest officer, could scarcely be surpassed in its way.

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*"Echoes."* By Two Writers : Lahore Civil and Military Press.

A MOST quaint, original and altogether charming little volume of Anglo-Indian verse. The two authors are, we believe, two children. If this is the case, what particularly phenomenal children these two little ones must be. The surroundings of child-life in India are, as a rule, sad, monotonous, and prosaic enough, not very rich, we should imagine, in materials for humorous verses. But sunny natures can throw sunshine on the gloomiest and dullest aspects of their surrounding circumstances. The book is divided into three parts—parodies, burlesque nursery verses, and original pieces reflective, comic and pathetic.

The parodies are somewhat unequal. Some of them are very weak, notably the parodies of Matthew Arnold and Rosetti, in the sense that they are not readily discernible as parodies at all. They do not hit off very happily the characteristic peculiarities of the writers whom they profess to imitate. On the other hand, the parodies of more popular and celebrated poets, Tennyson and Longfellow are exceedingly funny, and show a keen and delicate sense of imitation, which would be creditable to veteran versifiers, and is astonishingly creditable from such young hands as the authors of this delightful little volume. Longfellow's trick of applying the music of a stately and solemn



rythm to trifling incidents is exquisitely caricatured in *The City of the Heart*.

### THE CITY OF THE HEART.

I passed through the lonely Indian town,  
 Deep sunk 'twixt the walls of wheat,  
 And the dogs that lived in the land came down  
 And bayed at me in the street.  
 But I struck with my dog-whip o'er nose and back  
 Of the yelping, yellow crew,  
 Till I cleared a pathway athwart the pack,  
 And I and my horse went through.  
 I passed through the streets of my haunted heart,  
 In the hush of a hopeless night,  
 And from every alley a dog would start  
 And bay my soul with affright.  
 But I smote with the dog-whip of work and fact  
 These evil things on the head,  
 Till I made of my heart a wholesome tract,  
 Empty and garnished.

On the other hand, Browning's disdain for melody—his ear-grating, jerky, spasmodic blank verse is exquisitely caricatured in *the Flight of the Bucket*, a metrical version of Jack and Jill with variations. Jill is giggling at the success of her enterprise when she broke Jack's crown.

But mark now! Comes the mother round the door,  
 Red hot from climbing up the hill herself,  
 And caught the graceless giggler—*Whack! flack! whack!*  
 Here's Nemesis whichever way you like!  
*She* didn't stop to argue. Given a head  
 Broken—a woman chuckling at the door,  
 And here's your circumstantial evidence complete.  
*Whack*, while Jack sniffs and sniggers from bed.  
 I like that horny-handed mother o' Jill.  
 The world's best women died, Sir, long ago.  
 Well, Jack's avenged—as for the other *gr-r-r-r-l*.

In the parody of Tennyson our authors take the old story of King Stephen and the Tailor, and Stephen's tremendous curse for the theme of the parody. Thus Stephen to the tailor—

I, thy king,  
 Have worn the garments of a spotless life,  
 And also (since the world desires more  
 For human limbs) some garments made by thee;  
 And these were hose and doublet as thou sayest,  
 And also breeches for my lower limbs,  
 And in these breeches lieth all thy sin,—  
 Rapine and greed and interest sought on Bills,  
 And monthly increment of silver coin  
 Charge for the lapse of time—which is God's act,  
 Nor any handiwork of thine, O churl—  
 And thou, being void of shame, hast written down  
 The cost of these same breeches that I wear  
 At usury and interest, sinful churl,  
 And I adjudge the cost exorbitant  
 By six round pence.

Of the Nursery rhymes the brightest and most spontaneous is the following :—

HERE'S a mongoose  
Dead in the sluice  
Of the bath-room drain.  
How was he slain ?  
He must have lain  
Days it is plain . . . .  
Stopper your nose,  
Throw him out to the crows.

Among the serious and reflective pieces are some which exhibit genuine power. Take the following :—

#### A MURDER IN THE COMPOUND.

At the wall's foot a smear of fly-flecked red—  
Discoloured grass wherefrom the wild bees flee.  
Across the pathway to the flower-bed,  
The dark stream struggles forward, lazily,  
Blackened by that fierce fervour over head  
*She* does not heed, to whom the noon tide glare  
And the flies' turmoil round her livid lips  
And less account than that green puddle where,  
Just out of reach, the turbid water slips  
Between the corn-ridge and the *siris* trees . . . .  
The crows hold conclave high, and peer and glance  
Athwart the branches, and no passer sees,  
When life's last flicker leaves her countenance,  
How, merrily, they drop down one by one,  
On that gay-tinted bundle in the sun.

Again, in "How the Day Broke," our authors show how well they can deal with the more pathetic aspects of life :—

#### HOW THE DAY BROKE.

The night was very silent, and the moon was going down,  
And the winds of dawn were chilling all the sea.  
The full tide turned in silver o'er the ridge's length of brown,  
When a little muffled figure left the dim-seen, sleeping town,  
By the white road that leadeth to the sea.

The night was very silent, and the tide was falling fast,  
And the dawn was breaking dimly o'er the sea,  
The early boats like shadows with their lanterns flitted past,  
And the little muffled figure by the sand hills stayed at last  
Where the waste land opens on the sea.

The night is well nigh ended and the moon has gone to rest  
And the winds of dawn are lashing all the sea ;  
But the weariness is over and the doubt is all confessed,  
And the hope is re-arisen and the wrong is all redressed,  
As the little muffled figure lays her head upon his breast  
Who has waited for her coming by the sea.

With this we take leave of our young friends, hoping



we may hear of them again, for, if strikingly precocious gifts are any earnest of future excellence, they are destined to achieve an honorable, and distinguished place among the Anglo-Indian poets of our time.

*Gazeteer, North-Western Provinces.* Volume II. North-Western Provinces, Government Press.

MR. ATKINSON is to be congratulated on the completeness with which he has executed his work as the compiler of this tremendous publication. The volume extends to 934 closely printed pages, and it weighs about 6 pounds. But then as no one ever reads a *Gazeteer*, except for some special reference, the enormous bulk of the publication can scarcely be considered a defect, while the work as a work of reference was bound to cover an immense area of information. This volume is devoted to the Himalayan districts of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and every ology connected with these, from zoology to ethnology, comes in for minute and indeed exhaustive consideration; and in parts the volume is very interesting as well as deeply instructive. The history of Nepal, in its relations with the British, is an admirable specimen of lucid and vigorous historical narrative. The chapter on religion in the Himalaya as is also extremely interesting. Mr. Atkinson thus sums up the principal peculiarities of religious worship among the mountain tribes.

In discussing the history of religion in the Himalayan region we find a curious blending of pre-Bráhmancial, Bráhmancial and Bhuddistic practices which it will take some time and attention to separate and ascribe to their original sources. It would doubtless be easy to dispose of the question by stating that the prevailing religion is a form of Hinduism. This would be perfectly true, but at the same time could convey no definite idea to the reader's mind as to what the real living belief of the people is. To ascertain what is the actual state of religion, it is necessary to examine the forms and ceremonies observed in domestic and temple worship and the deities held in honour, and this is the task that we now propose to undertake for the tract between the Tons and the Káli. For this purpose we possess the results of an examination of the teaching in 350 temples in Kumaon, in about 550 temples in Garhwál and in about 100 temples in Dehra Dún and Jaunsar-Báwar. For the 900 temples in Kumaon and Garhwál we know the locality in which each is situate, the name of the deity worshipped, the broad division to which the deity belongs, the class of people who frequent the temple, and the principal festivals observed. The analysis of these lists shows that there are 250 Saiva temples in Kumaon and 350 in Garhwál, and that there are but 35 Vishnava temples in Kumaon and 61 in Garhwál. To the latter class may, however, be added 65 temples to Nágrája in Garhwál which are by common report affiliated to the Vishnava sects, but in which Siva also has a place under the form of Bhairava. Of the Saiva temples, 130 in Garhwál and 64 in Kumaon are dedicated to the Sákti or female form alone, but of the Vaishnava temples in both districts, only eight. The Sákti form of both Siva and Vishnu, however, occurs

also in the temples dedicated to Nágrāja and Bhairava, or rather these deities and their Saktis are popularly held to be forms of Vishnu and Siva and their Saktis. Of the Saiva Sakti temples 42 in Garhwál and 18 in Kumaon are dedicated to Káli, whilst the Sákti forms of the Bhairava temples are also known as emanations of Káli. Nanda comes next in popularity, and then Chandika and Durga. The remaining temples are dedicated to the worship of Súrya, Ganesh and the minor deities and deified mortals and the pre-Bramanical village gods who will be noticed hereafter. The outcome of this examination is therefore that Siva and Vishnu and their female forms are the principal objects of worship, but with them, either as their emanations or as separate divine entities, the representatives of the polydæmonistic cults of the older tribes are objects of worship both in temples and in domestic ceremonies.

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*Wide Awake Stories—a collection of Tales told by Little Children between sunset and sunrise, in the Punjab and Kashmir.* By F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple. Bombay, Education Society's Press, and London, Trübner & Co., 1884.

**I**N some ways no more fascinating subject of study has arisen in modern times than folk-lore, and much has of late been done in collecting and comparing the popular stories of different peoples. This is a very useful contribution to the subject. The joint authors have set before themselves a rather difficult task; to collect the stories as far as possible uncorrupted by English and other foreign sources, to present them in a literary form, and lastly, to discuss them from the scientific point of view.

How important it is to obtain the stories as distinctive as possible of the countries in which they are collected is recognized by all collectors, and the authors seem to have selected an excellent method to ensure purity. The stories themselves will delight our children. Many of them are old friends in oriental garb—old friends that we knew long ago in the nursery in slightly different clothes. The verses in the stories might, however, have been translated more literally without any sacrifice of poetic form. For the scientific appendices Captain Temple is responsible, and his name is a sufficient guarantee for soundness of work. The stories are separately analysed according to the method adopted by the Folk-lore Society of England. We unfortunates in India find difficulty in consulting the publications of scientific societies, and therefore we think that, if Captain Temple had given us more references to accessible books on the subject, he would have added to the usefulness of the work.

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*The Orient, an Anglo-Indian Monthly Magazine.* Conducted by R. Bates. Printed at the "Caxton Printing Works," Bombay. December 1884.

THIS meritorious publication continues to improve every issue of the new series. The novel, "India's Coral Strand" is continued and is developing into an exceedingly interesting story. The article, "Places of interest near Aden," is very well worth reading, indeed, and is calculated to rebuke the general popular prejudice against Aden as one of the most uninteresting places in the world. There are some touches of genuine pathos in the little sketch, "A Woman's Right," and the other articles in the Magazine for this month are all well up to the average of this carefully conducted publication.

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*Prairie Pictures, Lilitle, and other Poems.* By John Cameron Grant, Author of "Songs from the Sunny South," "a Year of Life," "The Price of the Bishop," &c. London: Longman, Green and Co. 1884.

MR. Grant's new volume appears to have been inspired by the suggestion of a friendly critic in the *Spectator*, that he should "give the public what it really wants, and what he is evidently able to draw, bright pictures of a life which is strange to us, and interesting because it is strange."

It consists mainly of descriptions of natural scenery rather than of life, in Canada, and, in spite of much true poetic feeling, and no little technical skill, it is questionable whether the result altogether justifies the advice.

Taken singly, Mr. Grant's "Prairie Pictures" are generally pleasing, but, taken in the mass, it must be admitted they are a little wearisome.

Description of material objects become poetical only when it is combined with interpretation; when by the aid of simile or metaphor the facts are invested with a new significance, or exhibited in unsuspected relations, and made by the process to appeal to a higher order or a wider range of feelings. At the same time it is essential to the effect that the process by which this translation of the language of plain facts into that of poetry is effected, should appear natural. "The use of simile and metaphor cannot, however, be pushed beyond a certain point without, sooner or later, arousing a sense of insincerity. Thus purely descriptive poetry, prolonged to too great a length, tends to defeat its own end; and this is the rock on which the volume before us, or at least the first half of it, seems to us to split.

Perhaps the best thing in the book is "Vicisti," in which the author lifts up his voice against Schopenhauer and his

school, in a strain fully equal to anything in his previous volumes,

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*In the Watches of the Night.* Poems (in eighteen volumes):  
By Mrs. Horace Dohell. Vol. 3. London: Remington  
and Co.

MRS. Dohell's poetry is always simple, and not unfrequently graceful, but generally superficial.

In the volume before us there is much that is trivial, and nothing that is specially striking. If, instead of trying to fill eighteen volumes, she would be content to fill one, she might produce a book that would be read with pleasure. She possesses a fluent style and writes for the most part with accuracy, and the slightest motive is evidently sufficient to move her to poetry.

The title of her poems was chosen, she tells us in a prefatory note, because most of them were written between the hours of ten and two o'clock at night. She would probably do both herself and her readers more justice if she wooed the Muses at some other time.

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*morning?*

*The Poison Tree, a Tale of Hindu Life in Bengal.* By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Translated by Miriam S. Knight, with a preface by Edwin Arnold, C. S. I., London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1884.

THIS will appeal more to the student of social customs than to the novel reader. The stange eastern phraseology, and the want of elaboration of the plot will not attract the latter class. But a representation of the inner life of the Hindus, of which we know so little, by one of themselves, will interest many. The picture drawn is, on the whole, not a pleasant one. The translator appears to have done her work carefully.

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#### VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Bangagriha.* By Sitanath Nandi, B. A. Printed and Published by Bhuban Mohan Ghosh at 210-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, 1291, B. S.

AN unfair object is apparently endeavoured to be unfairly carried out by the writer of this tale. Sarojini is the daughter of an orthodox Hindu, but subjected to Brahmo influences in consequence of the location of a Brahmo family near her father's house. She remains unmarried long after the age at which girls are, as a rule, married in orthodox



Hindu families. And then when she is given in marriage, she is old enough to understand that the husband selected for her by her father is a very unworthy person, and she accordingly obstinately refuses to consort with him. Her father is, however equally obstinate in the assertion of his authority over her, and the result of this exceedingly barbarous struggle between father and daughter is, that the daughter becomes very miserable. The author, who seems to be a very impulsive Brahmo, now breaks forth into utterly wild and furious declamations against the customs of Hindu society in general, and particularly against the Hindu custom of marrying girls without their consent. But in the excess of his reforming zeal, he does not see that it is an utterly unfair and unscrupulous method which he adopts in order to make it appear that the social customs of Hindus are very bad. For, in the first place, he does not explain how a stern Hindu *pater familias* allows the female members of his family to cultivate friendship and carry on domestic intercourse with a Brahmo family, and thus imbibe notions of social life which they would be otherwise unable to acquire or conceive. Orthodox Hindus entertain, as a rule, very sinister suspicions regarding the character and principles of conduct of heterodox people like the Brahmos of our time, and before admitting the members, and particularly the female members, of an orthodox Hindu family within the pale of heterodox influences for the purpose of fashioning events in a way which would create an occasion for preaching a fierce tirade against orthodoxy, our author was bound in fairness to explain how the well-known orthodox jealousy of Brahmic principles of life and character was overcome. But this the author has not done. In the second place, he does not explain how and why Sarojini was allowed to remain unmarried so long—why her father, a stern and orthodox Hindu, committed the unexpiable sin of *not* marrying his daughter at the age beyond which no Hindu of his type would keep his daughter unmarried. The statement that Sarojini's father wasted much time in endeavouring to settle a *cheap* match for her, and thus allowed her to arrive at nearly her fifteenth year (!) before she was married, is no explanation, but simply an expression of ill-nature. No Hindu, however parsimonious, will allow his daughter to reach her 15th year in order to gain time to make a cheap marriage bargain. But it is precisely because Sarojini is so far beyond the ordinary marriageable age at the time of her marriage, and also so deeply imbued with Brahmic notions of marriage and self-importance, that she is able to assert herself on the question of the selection of her husband. And it ought to be perfectly clear to all honest people that if her age at the time of her marriage had been the 10 or 11 years which is the ordinary

age of a girl in a strictly Hindu marriage, and if she had been, moreover, unacquainted with Brahmic forms of thought and self-esteem, not one of the untoward consequences could have appeared which in the story before us have placed it in the author's power to pronounce so fierce a denunciation against Hindu orthodoxy. The claims of justice then required our author to explain clearly and without equivocation the thoroughly inexplicable anomaly of a sternly orthodox Hindu father holding over his daughter's marriage for many long years after the age at which she ought to have been married. But this he has not done. And why? Because he could not do it—because so grave an anomaly could not possibly be explained. Why then has he committed this anomaly? Because he could not otherwise give himself an opportunity of heaping abuse upon Hindu orthodoxy, and showing how inferior is Hindu orthodoxy to enlightened Brahmic principles of life and conduct. Hindu marriage customs may be very bad or absurd, but the method which Babu Sitanath Nandi, B. A., has thought it proper to adopt to prove their viciousness or absurdity looks, we say, thoroughly dishonest and unscrupulous. And it is, we are grieved to add, by such and similar means that reforming Babus generally endeavour to prove the superiority of their own principles of faith and conduct to Hindu orthodoxy. There might be, however, some comfort and consolation even under such grievous circumstances if the commodity proposed to be given to us in exchange for a whole social system were really worth having. But that it is unfortunately not. Babu Sitanath Nandi's *Sarojini*—a piece of ideal Brahmo girlhood—is the very spirit of insubordination, violence, selfishness, shamelessness and bad breeding personified! And this is the high table-land of morality from which thunderbolts are hurled against the hoary head of Hindu orthodoxy! Surely reformation was nowhere a better satire against itself than it has been in this unfortunate country. We warn our European readers against accepting the shocking picture of domestic life given in this book as true or correct, and assure them that such a picture cannot but be false.

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*Griha-Lakshmi.* By Girijá Prasanna Ráya Chaudhuri. Printed by Sarachchandra Deb at the Biná Press, 37, Mechubazar Street, and Published by Gurudás Chatterji at the Bengal Medical Library, 97, College Street, Calcutta, 1291 B.S.

**I**T is the object of the writer of this book to give advice to Hindu women on points concerning their education, welfare, duties and position in the family. A good object



certainly, but, unfortunately, not very well or carefully executed. A subject of this kind can only be properly treated by men of advanced years, thoughtful minds, and mature experience ; not one of which qualifications seems to be possessed by the writer of the work under notice. Babu Girijā Prasanna is apparently a boy, who writes with much warmth, but without wisdom, discretion or good taste. His advice is given in the shape of a dialogue between a young husband and a young wife whom we often find talking and behaving to each other in a manner which, however proper in the private apartments of fashionable Bengali Babus and fast Bengali girls of the period, becomes an outrage upon decency, good breeding and propriety when it is exposed to the public view as in the book before us. As a counsellor and instructor, the author is also more effusive than wise. The wife is refusing to learn music because she thinks that it is not considered proper for respectable Hindu girls to practise that art. But hear what the husband says to remove her scruples :—

“Why should you not learn music ? Is the enchanting power of music, which melts stones and animates the inanimate, a thing to be hated, a thing to be acquired only by public dancing girls ? The highway robber, moved by greed of gold, has slowly approached the traveller with the view of destroying his life—he holds a whetted knife in his hand and harbours an ungovernable passion for gold in his heart. The traveller is sleeping and unattended—and there is not a sound of living man far or near. At such a time, breaking that silence and making motionless even trees and creepers, a faint note of music, coming not from a far distance, enters into the ears of the highwayman. The robber feels startled, and the very next moment is entranced ! The knife in his hand remains in the hand ! The sleeping prey is sleeping as before, and there is no other cause of fear. Still the man-killer feels unable to strike the traveller with his knife. The wave of music which is flooding the sky and pouring pathos into every fold of his heart, has wholly overpowered him. The music is, as it were, whispering in his ear—‘ought man to be so cruel ? Is so much hardness of heart possible in one composed of flesh and blood ?’ The mind of the heartless man is changed. Slowly he returns home, still listening to those notes of music.”

Is this a fact, and is this an argument ? Is not this a pure hallucination, the figment of a feeble brain and a diseased imagination ? And even if the case put here could be accepted as true, would it be an answer to the wife’s objection that Hindu Society considers it very improper that girls of respectable families should sing and dance ?

Take another illustration. The wife has, after much opposi-

tion, consented to learn to read and write. The husband at once grows poetical and delivers himself as follows :—

“এখনি যেন স্বপ্ন দেখিতেছি তুমি আমাকে পত্র লিখিতে বসিয়াছ, প্রথম লিখিতে কত লজ্জা। হইতেছে, কত কথা কাটা পড়িতেছে, শেষ একখানি পত্র লিখিয়া আমার পাঠাইয়াছ, আমি যেন সেই পত্র একবার দুইবার কতবার পড়িতেছি, পড়িয়া আর আশ মিটিতেছে না। আবার যেন স্বপ্ন দেখিতেছি আমার সন্মুখে বসিয়া তুমি ধীরে ধীরে একখানি ‘বেতাল’ পাঠ করিতেছ, চুল গুলি উড়িয়া উড়িয়া মুখের উপর ঝাঁপিয়া পড়িতেছে, ধীরে ধীরে ঠোঁট দুখানি নড়িতেছে, জগৎ সংসার আমার নিকটে সব শূন্যময় বোধ হইতেছে, আমার সকল ইন্দ্রিয় চক্ষুর মধ্যে প্রসিক্ত হইয়া সেই অরূপম দৃশ্য দেখিত দেখিতে যেন স্বর্গ মুখ লাভ করিতেছি।”

This is in every respect worthy of the fashionable young Babu, and but one defect prevents the exquisite from being also perfect. Instead of *Betal*, which is an antiquated thing altogether, we should have had the model Bengali girl reading out *Durgesanandini* to her model young lover. Surely Babu Girija Prasanna is too young and inexperienced to be a teacher of women. His views have, however, this merit, that they are not of the go-ahead kind which is ordinarily met with in Bengali literature in these days on such subjects as are discussed by him.

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*Ami.* By Kālimaya Ghatak. Printed and Published by H. M. Mukharji and Co. at the New Sanskrit Press, 11, Simla Street, Calcutta, 1291 B. S.

WE have seldom seen so much fussy writing about very commonplace matters as we do in the volume before us. The evils of drinking, the Ilbert Bill agitation, Babu Surendranath's imprisonment, and a few other topics are dwelt upon in a style of verbosity and strained humour which is positively disgusting. The author evidently thinks very highly of himself and the droll rigmarole he has written, and that is why he calls his book *আমি* or I, and describes it as a গদ্য কাব্য or *Poem in Prose*. But this *Poem in Prose* means simply *self-conceit*.

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*Ramani-bijñān.* By Durgā Charan Rāya Kabiraj. Printed and Published by Amaranath Chakrabarti, at the People's Press, 78 College Street, Calcutta, 1291 B. S.

WE consider this to be a very useful publication. It is intended for Bengali females to whom the author, a Hindu physician of Calcutta, is anxious to impart a little instruction in a popular style on the subject of the diseases of women and their treatment. We feel sure that Hindu women will derive much benefit if they study this easy and useful work, and strictly follow the rules which are explained in it for their guidance. They will be able, by so doing, to escape much preventible suffering which they now endure, partly in consequence of their utter ignorance of the laws of health, and partly because of the strong repugnance which they naturally feel to consult male physicians in diseases peculiar to their sex. That the book may be, however, of use to those for whom it is intended, it is necessary that the cause of its introduction and study in the zenana should be warmly taken up by the educated male community of Bengal. In the second part of the work, the author explains how the diet of the people of this country should be regulated according to the different seasons which prevail here, and enumerates the qualities of the vegetables, food stuffs, &c., which are ordinarily used by Bengalis. It is of the very first importance that Hindu females should possess this knowledge. For the kitchen and the cooking of the country being in their hands, the health of the country would be under better management if they knew the properties of food stuffs, and could regulate them according to the changing influences of season and weather. But in this matter, too, the guidance and the initiative must rest with the *men* of the country, and it is to be hoped that *they* will not fail to do *their* part of the work. And if only that is done, we may rest assured that the whole work will be done. For, of all living beings, Bengali women are most loyal, respectful, docile and teachable; and *they*, at any rate, will do with their whole soul what their fathers, brothers and husbands will ask them to do. We thank Babu Durgā Charan for the very neat and easy text-book he has given us for initiating a very necessary improvement in the knowledge and accomplishments of Bengali women.

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*Niháriká.* By the Authoress of Banalátá. Printed by Purna Chandra Datta at the Bangabasi Machine Press, 34-1, Kalutolá Street, and Published by S. K. Láhiri & Co., at 14, College Square, Calcutta, 1291 B. S.

*Pushpapunja.* By Srimati Sorasibálá Dasi. Printed by Tárini Charan Dás at the Bharabi Press, 48, Wellington Street, and Published by the Shomaprokásh Depository, 97, College Street, Calcutta, 1291 B. S.

BOTH these works are written by Bengali ladies, and both are certainly very creditable performances. The poetry of both is of the lyrical order, various affections of the heart finding very eloquent expression in both. We are not, however, disposed to institute a comparison between the two performances; for to do that would be not only very unchivalrous, but possibly hazardous, considering the disasters recorded in connection with the old-world story of the throwing of the apple of discord between two divinities of the female sex. But our duty as critics compels us to do what we would fain leave undone, and indicate in a few words what strikes us as the most salient points of difference in the writings of the two fair authoresses. In literary culture, polish and refinement, the authoress of *Niháriká* seems to us superior to Srimati Sorasibálá. The versification and artistic execution of the poems of the authoress of *Niháriká* are therefore better than those of the fair writer of *Pushpapunja*. The fair authoress of *Niháriká* seems also to possess a subtler and wider knowledge of man and the human heart than the authoress of *Pushpapunja*. But the feelings which we find expressed in *Pushpapunja*, though expressed with less art and skill than the feelings of the authoress of *Niháriká*, strike us as very much more simple, sweet, spontaneous and genuine than the latter.

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*Patáká. A Weekly Newspaper and Review.* Edited by Jnánendra-lál Ráya, M.A. Nos. 1 to 6.

WE hail this new Bengali periodical with delight. Its plan seems entirely novel; for it proposes to deal not only with current politics, but also with questions of a moral, social, philosophical, literary and scientific interest. Already, in the numbers before us, a great variety of subjects is found introduced, and it is a pleasure to add that the treatment of those subjects by the editor and his co-adjutors has been able and interesting. A paper in which educated Bengali gentlemen, possessing less leisure than would be required to write long articles for big monthly magazines, might give expression to their views on all kinds of subjects, was hitherto a desideratum



in this country, and the entire credit of supplying it belongs to Babu Jnánendralál Ráya. We are clearly of opinion that the *Patáka* ought to receive the sympathy and support of all educated Bengalis, and we can assure ourselves and our readers that if it only receives that sympathy and support, its worthy and distinguished editor will stand in need of nothing else to render it a pre-eminent success. That it may be a pre-eminent success is our sincere and earnest prayer.